

FBIS

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ECONOMIC-CULTURAL PLAN, STATE BUDGET FOR 1981

1981 Economic-Cultural Plan

AU020638 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Mar 81 p 2

["Law on the 1981 State Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania"]

[Text] Having examined the 1981 draft plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

Article 1

The major indicators of the 1981 state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have been approved as follows:

The overall industrial production is to increase by 7.2 percent, overall agricultural production by 13.1 percent and the total volume of investments by 5.8 percent.

The transportation of commodities is to increase by 8.8 percent and retail sales by 5.6 percent. Labor productivity in industry is to grow 2.8 percent and in construction and installation work by 4.9 percent.

Article 2

The Council of Ministers is to work out in detail the major indicators of the 1981 state plan for the ministries and other central institutions and is to take appropriate measures for implementing the tasks deriving therefrom.

Article 3

This law takes effect on 1 January 1981.

Tirana, 27 March 1981

Law No 6296

[Signed] Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

1981 State Budget

AU020646 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Mar 81 p 1

["Law on the 1981 State Budget"]

[Text] The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

Article 1

The 1981 state budget presented by the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is approved as follows:

-- Incomes.....	8,200,000,000 leks
-- Expenditures.....	8,150,000,000 leks

Surplus

50,000,000 leks

Article 2

The total of incomes from economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions in the 1981 state budget is determined at 7.58 billion leks.

Article 3

The total sum of expenditures for the financing of the national economy and the further development of industry, mining, geology, agriculture, transportation, the communal economy and the other branches of the national economy in the 1981 state budget is set at 4,866,000,000 leks, in addition to the expenditures to be covered from the resources of the enterprises themselves.

Article 4

The total sum of expenditures for the financing of sociocultural measures (kindergartens, 8-year schools, general and vocational secondary schools, the university and other higher educational institutions, the lower vocational schools, libraries, radio and television, theaters, nurseries, hospitals, sanatoriums, physical culture, pensions, allocations to large families and other sociocultural measures) in the 1981 state budget is set at 1,982,000,000 leks.

Article 5

The sum of 940 million leks is allocated in the 1981 state budget for the country's defense.

Article 6

The sum of 126 million leks is allocated in the 1981 state budget to maintain the administrative apparatus.

Article 7

The 1981 budget of the district people's councils is approved for the sum of 2,748,000,000 leks, as follows for the various districts:

1. Berat District.....	134,000,000 leks
2. Diber District.....	87,500,000 leks
3. Durres District.....	226,400,000 leks
4. Elbasan District.....	163,700,000 leks
5. Fier District.....	186,200,000 leks
6. Gramsh District.....	29,600,000 leks
7. Gjirokaster District.....	82,600,000 leks
8. Kolonje District.....	41,200,000 leks
9. Korce District.....	198,300,000 leks
10. Kruje District.....	96,000,000 leks
11. Kukes District.....	67,900,000 leks
12. Lezhe District.....	62,300,000 leks
13. Librazhd District.....	40,800,000 leks
14. Lushnje District.....	116,300,000 leks

15. Mat District.....	53,000,000 leks
16. Mirdite District.....	41,600,000 leks
17. Permet District.....	43,500,000 leks
18. Pogradec District.....	88,300,000 leks
19. Puke District.....	39,000,000 leks
20. Sarande District.....	111,000,000 leks
21. Skrapar District.....	45,400,000 leks
22. Shkoder District.....	213,200,000 leks
23. Tepelene District.....	40,800,000 leks
24. Tirana District.....	305,400,000 leks
25. Tropoje District.....	45,500,000 leks
26. Vlore District.....	188,500,000 leks

Article 8

The final 1979 budget is approved as follows:

-- Incomes.....	7,748,233,040.90 leks
-- Expenditures.....	7,478,738,757.95 leks

Surplus	269,494,282.95 leks
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Article 9

This law enters into force on 1 January 1981.

Tirana, 27 March 1981

Law No 6297

[Signed] Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY CREATES MINISTRY OF ENERGY

AU272020 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Summary] The Sixth Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resumed its proceedings this morning when deputies debated the report delivered at yesterday's session by Petro, chairman of the State Planning Commission, on the fulfillment of the 1980 state and budget plan and on the 1981 draft state and budget plan. "Following the debate, the deputies unanimously approved the law for the state plan on the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1981 and the law for the 1981 state budget in principle, article by article and as a whole."

The third sitting, which opened in the afternoon, began with the examination of the fourth item on the agenda, that is, approval of the bill for the Prosecutor's Office of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The bill was presented by Spiro Koleka, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who stated, among other things, that "this bill clearly and fully reflects the tasks of the Prosecutor's Office, its organization and its role in the defense and consolidation of socialist legality." Liri Gjoleku, secretary of the Judiciary Commission of the assembly delivered the commission's report on the bill, which was put to a vote and approved unanimously by the deputies.

The assembly then went on to examine items 5 and 6 on the agenda, pertaining to the bills for amnesty and for the abrogation of Article 39 of the Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and of articles 192 and 193 of the Code of Penal Procedure of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which were presented by Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. He pointed out among other things that amnesty plays an educational role in our socialist society. The right to amnesty is recognized by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly has the prerogative to grant amnesty and has always used this right judiciously. Deputy Zef Leka delivered a report on behalf of the Judiciary Commission of the assembly. The deputies then voted on the appropriate bills, which were approved unanimously.

In connection with item 7 on the agenda, the assembly was addressed by Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who presented a bill for the creation of a new ministry. "According to the bill, the Energy Section is detached from the activity of the Ministry of Industry and Mining and a new Ministry of Energy is Created." The deputies approved the appropriate bill unanimously.

Simon Stefani, chairman of the People's Assembly, then read out a draft decision presented by Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to create the Ministry of Energy. "The draft decision proposes that Comrade Prokop Mura should be relieved of his duty as minister of industry and mining and that he should be appointed minister of energy; and that Comrade Llambi Gegprifti should be appointed minister of industry and mining." This decision was approved unanimously by the deputies.

The assembly was then addressed by Xhafer Spahiu, who presented a report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. After being put to a vote, the decrees were approved as a whole and separately.

The Sixth Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly was then declared closed by Simon Stefani.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO SRI LANKA--Jonuz Mersini, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Sri Lanka, presented his credentials to President Junius Richard Jayewardene on 16 March. The ceremony was also attended by Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed and others. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 81 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO ECUADOR--On 11 March the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Ecuador, Labo Abazi, presented his credentials to the president of the Republic of Ecuador, Jaime Roldos Aguilera. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials were the minister of foreign affairs, Alfonso Barrera, the general director of protocol, Cezar Valdivivo, and others. [Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 13 Mar 81 AU]

CONGRESS CONTINUES; DELEGATES' REMARKS, ACTIVITIES

1 Apr Afternoon Session

AU011732 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 1 April carries a live relay from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of the afternoon session of the 12th BCP Congress' second day.

At 1301 GMT the announcer declares the 12th BCP Congress 1 April afternoon session open. It is chaired by Todor Bozhinov, who gives the floor to Petur Petrov, BCP Ruse Okrug committee first secretary. Petrov describes the working successes of the Ruse Okrug working people, the development of industry and agriculture in the okrug and the introduction of the new economic approach, which facilitated the achievement of the aforementioned successes. The party's guiding role is stressed. New successes and achievements are pledged. At 1317 GMT the floor is given to Prof Atanas Maleev, chairman of the medical academy and deputy minister of national health. Prof Maleev praises the role of the BCP in developing Bulgaria's health and the cooperation with the USSR in the areas of medicine and health preservation. Successes are reported and new achievements pledged.

At 1335 GMT the floor is given to Gyorgy Aczel, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy premier. Aczel greets the 12th BCP Congress on behalf of the Hungarian communists and working people, praises Zhivkov's report and voices admiration of the Bulgarian people's working successes. Aczel describes Hungarian successes and tasks currently being solved. He talks about the importance of cooperation and friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries and of the "peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries." He notes that the "economic crisis" of the Western world is being described as the reason for the "aggressive foreign policy" of the West. He expresses "complete support for the peaceful proposals voiced by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress" and solidarity "with the struggle of the Polish comrades." He states, "the wheel of history cannot be moved back." "Only the socialist countries can correct their mistakes and defeat the enemy."

At 1352 GMT the floor is given to Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. Indra greets the congress and praises the Bulgarian people's successes in building socialism. Indra describes the CSSR people's successes on the eve of the forthcoming CPCZ Congress. He says "friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism" are the basis of the CSSR people's successes. He supports and admires the peaceful proposals made by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress and condemns the arms race. "The CSSR people will continue to support the struggle against all enemies of detente and will search for new cooperation with the West." Indra expresses the conviction that the "unity of all peace-loving and democratic people will bring world peace." Indra does not refer to Poland. He completes his statement by wishing the BCP and the Bulgarian people new working successes.

At 1403 GMT the floor is given to Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. At 1413 the floor is given to the BCP Kurdzhali Okrug committee secretary, who describes the Okrug industrial and agrarian successes, praises the BCP's role in achieving them and pledges new achievements. At 1427 a "representative group of the Bulgarian People's Armed Forces" greets the congress. The announcer describes the entrance of the soldiers "who came to demonstrate to the party that they are worthy defenders of the motherland, ready to fulfill their international duty together with the other Warsaw Pact member-countries."

An unidentified member of the group greets the congress and wishes the participants success in their responsible work. He describes the successes of the Bulgarian soldiers in their combat and political training and pledges loyalty to the party and the motherland. He expresses gratitude to the BCP "and personally to Comrade Todor Zhivkov" for their activity in increasing the combat capability of the Bulgarian People's Army. He refers to "Comrade Todor Zhivkov's leading role" in strengthening the Bulgarian People's Army and praises the cooperation with the Soviet army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact member-countries.

He expresses "unreserved support for the wise BCP foreign policy," and stresses that the Bulgarian People's Army, together with the Soviet Army and all other socialist countries' armies, is always ready to defend the successes of socialism. The decisions of the 12th BCP and 26th CPSU Congresses are described as a source of inspiration for Bulgarian soldiers. He pledges readiness to defend Bulgaria's border and the achievements of peace and socialism.

At 1438 GMT the army group leaves the congress hall. Bozhinov gives the floor to engineer Kiril Tabakov, who describes the successes of Bulgaria's railroad transportation, the importance of the Soviet experience and pledges new successes.

At 1453 GMT the floor is given to Chea Sim, KNUFNS deputy chairman, chairman of the Kampuchean National Revolutionary Council and minister of internal affairs. He expresses admiration for the successes of the Bulgarian people reached under the BCP leadership, which increases Bulgaria's international prestige. He praises Bulgaria's foreign policy, "which contributes to peace in the Balkans" and expresses his country's desire to expand cooperation with Bulgaria. Chea Sim describes the work which is being done in Kampuchea to restore the country's economy. He denounces Chinese support for the previous regime and the destructive course conducted by that regime. Praising the aid of Vietnam, the USSR, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries, Chea Sim describes Kampuchea's drive towards socialism. He scores the U.S. policy in Southeast Asia and predicts the failure of that policy. He demands full representation in the United Nations and all other international organizations and expresses support for the struggle of all peoples to achieve national independence.

At 1504 GMT Bozhinov announces a recess of 30 minutes.

The second part of the afternoon session is chaired by Todor Bozhinov. At 1533 GMT Bozhinov gives the floor to Georgi Grigorov, chairman of the Credentials Committee, who explains the tasks of the committee, which is to examine the credentials of the individual delegates and to analyze the work of the accountability election conferences preceding the congress. He praises the party and Todor Zhivkov in general terms. He gives statistical data on delegates participating in accountability-election conferences and in the congress, and on the number of proposals submitted for congress debates. Grigorov confirms that all delegates have valid credentials and are worthy representatives of the workers class to the congress.

At 1547 GMT Bozhinov asks the delegates whether they approve the report of the Credentials Committee. The report is unanimously adopted.

At 1549 GMT the floor is given to Prof Tsenko Khinkovski, director general of the Kostinbrodu Cattle Breeding Agro-Industrial Complex Scientific Institute in Sofia, who discusses successes in agriculture and animal husbandry achieved owing to the application of scientific innovations and achievements.

At 1603 GMT the floor is given to Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Greek Communist Party. He praises the BCP, the superiority of the socialist system and the anti-imperialist movement in the world. The imperialists still represent a great danger today, Florakis adds. He mentions the exacerbation of the situation in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Middle East, due to U.S. imperialism, to the existence of U.S. bases in those areas and to the intrigues of the imperialists, who are trying to fan hostilities among various peoples. Florakis calls for unity and cooperation among progressive forces for international solidarity. He protests his country's integration into NATO and the intentions of imperialist circles to deploy U.S. weapons in Greece and establish military bases. He expresses support for the people of Cyprus and solidarity with the communists in Turkey. Florakis deals with the forthcoming elections in Greece and with the necessity of strengthening relations with socialist countries, relations the imperialists are trying to undermine. He expresses satisfaction with the present situation in the Balkans and hopes that Zhivkov's proposal to establish a "code of neighborly relations in the Balkans" is implemented. He thanks Bulgaria for its hospitality to Greek political refugees.

At 1615 GMT the floor is given to Madeleine Vincent, member of the French Communist Party [PCF] Politburo. She denounces American imperialism and speaks of the struggle for peace in France and on the international initiatives for peace in which the French communists are participating. She expresses admiration for Bulgaria and the policy of the BCP in behalf of international solidarity. The French delegate hails the 26th CPSU Congress and its decisions. She compares the brilliant situation in Bulgaria with that in France and in capitalist countries where the economic crisis is being exacerbated and unemployment is rife. She describes the PCF efforts to rally the progressive forces and improve the workers' situation. Vincent hopes for closer relations between Bulgaria and France and praises the relations between the two communist parties and the meetings between Georges Marchais and Todor Zhivkov.

At 1624 GMT the floor is given to Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council. He elaborates on the struggle for peace, highly praises Zhivkov and Bulgaria's brilliant achievements in economy and culture and expresses gratitude for Bulgaria's hosting of international peace conferences in recent years. Chandra dwells on the victories of the national liberation movements in the seventies, praises Brezhnev as a "symbol of peace," criticizes the U.S. Government for "continuing escalating rearmament" and for not giving a positive answer to the USSR's peaceful proposals, and denounces the U.S. administration for its propaganda about "international terrorism." He promises that all countries who are now fighting for freedom will be free.

At 1638 GMT Joaquin Gomes, representative of the Portuguese Communist Party, takes the floor. He praises the successes of socialist Bulgaria and the advantages of socialism over capitalism and praises the achievements of the worldwide progressive movement against capitalism and imperialism. He denounces NATO and "North American imperialism" and states that the new U.S. administration is encouraging "anti-Sovietism and anticommunism" and is intensifying the policy of blackmail and intrigue in various parts of the world. Gomes deals with the activities of his party in the anti-imperialist struggle domestically and internationally. In Portugal the communists are continuing the cause of the April Revolution despite reactionary attempts to liquidate all the achievements of revolutionary reforms, the speaker states. He describes the struggle of his party for the unity of all progressive forces in Portugal, including cooperation with the socialists.

At 1650 GMT the floor is given to Commander Henry Ruiz, representative of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. He talks about his country's struggle for freedom and describes social reforms in his country since the revolution. He dwells on the actions of Nicaragua's enemies and on the foreign policy of his country, as well as on the goals of the revolution. He notes the exacerbation of the international situation and asserts that his country adheres to the Nonaligned Movement. He denounces the new U.S. administration, which "slanders the democratic governments in Latin America" and supplies the "criminal junta" in El Salvador with weapons and assistance. "Robbery and exploitation" are the new U.S. administration's policy, he states. This makes Brezhnev's peace-loving proposals even more attractive to us, the speaker remarks. He compares U.S. "assistance" to foreign countries, which is an "export of ideology" to the selfless assistance of the socialist countries.

The fourth session of the 12th BCP Congress ends at this point, and the live relay of the second day of the congress concludes.

Polish Delegate's Speech

AU011305 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Speech by Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered at the 1 April morning session of the 12th BCP congress in Sofia--live, Grabski speaking in Polish with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Dear comrades: On the assignment of the PZPR Central Committee and on behalf of all Polish communists, I have the honorable task to convey to you, the delegates to this congress, most sincere wishes for fruitful work.

On behalf of the working people in the Polish People's Republic, and all Polish people, I cordially greet the Bulgarian workers class, the agricultural laborers, the intelligentsia and the young people. We listened with attention and great interest to the report read by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, outstanding figure of the international communist and workers movement.

As sincere friends of the Bulgarian people, we rejoice at your successes and share in your achievements in socialist construction. We well understand that these tremendous achievements have required many efforts, persevering labor and resolve. They represent a good basis for fulfilling the large scale plans for the forthcoming years, outlined by your party. We highly appreciate the active and peace-loving foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We appreciate Bulgaria's contribution to the common cause of consolidating the unity of the socialist community in the struggle for peace and for the development of cooperation among peoples throughout the world. We are aware of Bulgaria's positive influence on the development of good neighborly relations on the Balkan Peninsula, an important area for the security of all Europe. With all our hearts we wish you, dear comrades, further successes along this path.

Esteemed delegates, your party's congress is taking place in the year of a great jubilee--the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. For many centuries Poland and Bulgaria have been linked to each other by cordial, friendly relations. Polish and Bulgarian patriots and revolutionaries have fought side by side for your and our freedom, for equal rights and social progress.

Thanks to our two Marxist-Leninist parties, after World War II the common features of our two peoples' historical fate developed into an indestructible alliance and friendly cooperation. Some 33 years ago a friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty was signed between our two countries. On the Bulgarian side this treaty was signed by Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of your people and outstanding figure of the Bulgarian and international workers movement. The friendship between our two peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and upon the fraternal relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, serves well the interests of the two peoples and their further development. This friendship is an important contribution to consolidating the socialist community.

We in Poland highly appreciate the fraternal relations existing between our two parties, countries and peoples. The good results achieved in economic, scientific-technical and trade cooperation are adequate to the trends of development and to the needs as well as the interests of our two countries. These results are revealing new development prospects and the necessity of a transition to higher forms of cooperation, such as intensification of socialist division of labor, production sharing and specialization of production, within the framework of socialist integration laid down in the CEMA program. In turn, we will do everything within our power to utilize all these opportunities entirely to our two peoples' benefit.

Dear comrades, great changes have been accomplished in the Polish People's Republic throughout the years of socialist construction. We have built up our country from ruin, we have developed our economy, culture and education, and we have raised the people's living standards.

For months, our country has been affected by a wave of social tension. We are in an aggravated political and economic situation. The reasons for our difficulties are complicated. They arose mainly as a result of violating the basic principles of socialism, as a result of an arbitrary approach to the economic laws of socialist development, as a result of violating the Leninist norms of party life, as a result of underestimating class contradictions within society, and as a result of shortcomings in ideological work. Our party, which bears the patriotic and international responsibility for the fate of our motherland, has adopted resolute actions in order to pull the country out of the severe political and social crisis.

We have chosen the path of restoring the trust of society in the people's government. We have chosen the path of political solutions. At the same time, however, we are waging a struggle against the dangerous actions of forces hostile to socialism and against counter-revolutionary forces, which are often supported by the imperialist diversionist center. These centers have intensified their activities, taking advantage of the wave of dissatisfaction among the workers.

The most serious threat endangering the process of overcoming the crisis is now contained in anarchy and chaos, which are aggravating the economic situation, and in the political pressure controlled by the antisocialist forces. These forces aim at opposing the individual links of the trade union movement and the other socialist organizations to the state power. They aim at destabilizing our state and practically imposing a dual power.

Dear comrades, we would like to assure you that the Polish communists, relying on the workers class and all progressive social forces, have sufficient resolve and strength to eliminate the danger pending over the socialist people's achievements. [applause] Poland is and will remain a socialist state. [applause] It will remain a loyal ally of the Soviet Union, a sound link of the socialist community. [applause] In future, we will remain an indestructible link of the Warsaw Pact, and an active participant in CEMA. [applause]

We are fully aware of the fact that we are facing difficult tasks. At plenums of the PZPR Central Committee we have adopted a program on overcoming the difficulties. We are implementing this program, and in doing so we are carrying out essential changes in social life. We are consolidating the strength and combat capability of our party and the cohesion of its ranks. The patriotic forces of the Polish people, who have built up a front of commonsense and civic responsibility, are supporting these actions. Therefore, we are convinced that we will overcome difficulties and that we will pull Poland out of the crisis. [applause]

We are grateful for the understanding and comprehensive support for our cause, for the assistance of the fraternal countries and for the assistance accorded to us by socialist Bulgaria. [applause]

Esteemed delegates, the 26th CPSU Congress ended a few weeks ago. Its decisions are of great importance, not only for the Soviet country, but also for the entire socialist community, for the international communist movement and for the further development of the situation in the world.

Poland, which suffered tremendous losses in World War II, has particular reasons to entirely and ardently support the new, peaceful proposals submitted by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev on stopping the arms race, on disarmament and on resuming the dialogue for settling international problems. We fully support the evaluation of the CPSU Central Committee on the present international situation. We are convinced, dear comrades, that your 12th congress, which is of great international importance, and the decisions it will adopt will be a new contribution to the socioeconomic contribution of the People's Republic, in building its happy future, and that they will contribute to the consolidation of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Long live the BCP! [applause]

Long live friendship and cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria, between our two parties and peoples! [stormy and prolonged applause]

USSR's Shcherbitskiy's Speech

For a Sofia Domestic Service report on the speech given at the 12th BCP Congress by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, see page F 5 of the 1 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Yugoslav Delegate's Speech

AU011703 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Speech by Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, delivered at the 1 April afternoon session of the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia--live, Durutovic speaking in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Comrades:

Permit me, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee, on behalf of the workers class and on behalf of all working people, as well as on behalf of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY to convey a comradely greeting to the delegates at the 12th BCP Congress, to the communists and working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to express my best wishes for the useful and successful work of your congress.

In following the work of the 12th BCP Congress we once again become familiar with the successes that the working people of socialist Bulgaria, under the leadership of the BCP, have achieved in building their country. On the basis of everything that we have heard so far, we can say that those results are truly considerable. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke on those achievements and on the forthcoming tasks of the Bulgarian communists in his exhaustive report. The communists and all working people in our country sincerely rejoice at your achievements and wish you many new successes and labor victories in the further comprehensive development and progress of your country, to the Bulgarian people's benefit.

The peoples and nationalities of the SFRY have also achieved considerable results in their socialist development attained to date. They have built a powerful material basis for the socialist society and they have built the foundations of the sociopolitical and economic system of socialist self-management in which the workers class is playing a decisive role. A solid uniform community of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities based on equal rights has been created.

We will soon mark the first anniversary of the death of our peoples' and nationalities' greatest son--Josip Broz Tito. He bequeathed to us his remarkable revolutionary deeds to which the workers class, the working people, the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia are linked forever in an indestructible manner. To continue Tito's work--this is the only possible path which our working people, our peoples and nationalities consider worth following in their striving for socialist self-management, freedom, independence and non-alignment of Yugoslavia and solidarity, in cooperation with the forces of peace, democracy, and progress throughout the world.

Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, two socialist neighbor countries, already have objective pre-requisites for cooperation. The relations between the workers movements in both countries have already become traditional. The cooperation between the SFRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and between the BCP and the LCY is relatively broadly developed today. Recently, considerable contacts have been established in various areas. In our opinion good opportunities exist to further intensify cooperation based on equal rights and mutual advantages in all spheres. As before, the SFRY and the LCY devote great attention to this matter.

Along with this we must devote efforts to settling controversies in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. It is not permissible that such matters should restrict the development of Yugoslav-Bulgarian cooperation. Yugoslavia and the LCY will continue to devote efforts to resolving these problems on the basis of principle. Yugoslavia has always attached and will continue to attach great importance to the development of friendly relations and cooperation with all its neighbors on the basis of the principle of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in domestic affairs. Our permanent policy is to live with our neighbors in peace and friendship, and guided by such principles we wish constantly to develop and expand the mutually advantageous cooperation, being confident that it is in the common interest of all peoples and countries in this area.

In this respect we attach great importance to the national minorities. We consider them as bridges which must contribute to consolidating friendship and mutual respect among neighboring peoples. We are deeply convinced that the national minorities will best play this invaluable role of a factor of rapprochement under conditions of their full and comprehensive national development, to which--being a multinational community--our country devotes exceptional attention. This we will continue to do.

Basing itself on these basic principles and goals, Yugoslavia has good-neighborly relations, cooperation and friendly relations with nearly all neighbor countries and peoples. With this policy Yugoslavia has asserted itself as a factor of stability, security and peace in the Balkans and outside the Balkans. In this spirit we wish to building our relations with the Bulgarian People's Republic too, strictly observing the principles of sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity, equal rights, inviolability of borders, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs and mutual respect for the different paths of internal development of the two countries and of their stands on international affairs.

We are convinced that this is in conformity with the profound vital interests of the Bulgarian, the Macedonian, the Serbian and all other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, as well as of all Balkan peoples, in the interest of strengthening peace, international security and cooperation in Europe and the world. [applause]

In the complicated international situation the struggle for peace, equality, international cooperation, alleviation of tension, and for independence and free development of all countries and peoples, the policy of the nonaligned countries and their movement are making a great contribution. In the 20 years of its existence this movement has asserted itself as an important, independent, universal factor outside of all blocs, which is struggling to implement the principles of active, peaceful coexistence in relations among all states for the democratization of international economic and political relations, for a new, more just international political and economic order. Together with the other nonaligned states, our country is developing broad activities, declaring itself in favor of consolidating the unity and action capability of the nonaligned countries' movement, on the basis of the latter's basic principles.

Comrades, practical experience has shown that the consistent application of the principles of equal rights, independence, respect for different methods in the struggle for socialism and for building socialism, the principle of each party's responsibility towards its own workers class and people, and hence, of developing voluntary internationalist cooperation and solidarity among all socialist, progressive and democratic forces in the world, is of exceptionally great importance.

It is upon these principles, which all European communist parties agreed upon at the 1976 Berlin conference, that the LCY is developing broad international cooperation with the majority of communist, socialist and other progressive and democratic parties and movements in the world, in rendering support and assistance to the struggle for national and social liberation, for peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

Comrades, permit me to convey to you once more best wishes for the successful work of your congress and in implementing the tasks that the congress will assign to the communists and the working people in your country. [applause]

Hager NATO Comments

LD011430 Hamburg DPA in German 1334 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 1 Apr (DPA)--As long as the Federal Republic adheres to NATO's counter-arming decision on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe, relations with the GDR cannot become normal. This was stressed by East German Politburo member Kurt Hager in Sofia today.

Speaking outside the 12th Bulgarian party congress meeting hall, Hager told Western and Eastern journalists that a further factor in the exacerbation of German-German relations was Bonn's nonrecognition of a GDR state citizenship. Hager said that the GDR, however, is hoping that reason will prove victorious over the "policy of a high level of arming" in the Federal Republic.

VCP Delegation Met

BK010951 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] According to a source in Sofia, at the invitation of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, a delegation of the VCP led by Comrade Chu Huy Man, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, arrived in Sofia on 29 March to attend the 12th BCP Congress.

On hand to receive the delegation at the airport were Dobri Dzhurov and Peko Takov, members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; Valdimir Bonev, member of the party Central Committee Secretariat; (Kiri Gochev), member of the party Central Committee; (Filip Zenkov Makov), Bulgarian ambassador to the SRV; and many other high-ranking cadres of the party Central Committee Foreign Policy and International Relations Department.

Also present were Ambassador Le Quang Hiep and many members of our embassy staff in Bulgaria and Comrade Meas Samnang, PRK ambassador to Bulgaria.

Zhivkov Receives Grabski

AU012016 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 1 Apr (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, received Mr Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, leader of the Polish party delegation to the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

During the talks Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Tadeusz Grabski exchanged views on the state and prospects for Bulgaro-Polish cooperation. Readiness was expressed at the talks for further development of bilateral relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist community countries in the name of socialism and peace in Europe and the world.

Mr Tadeusz Grabski gave a high appraisal to the work of the 12th Congress and wished the People's Republic of Bulgaria new successes in socialist construction. He made Mr Todor Zhivkov familiar with the situation in Poland, with the decisions of the 9th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and with the efforts of the party and state to overcome the great difficulties, to rally the communists and all workers around the policy of the party, to improve the situation and to defend the socialist gains in Poland. He expressed the conviction of Polish communists and the progressive public forces in the country that people's Poland is and will remain a strong link in the socialist community and an active member of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The meeting which proceeded in cordial and friendly atmosphere was attended also by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Zhivkov Gives Dinner

AU012034 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] On 1 April Comrade Todor Zhivkov met and gave a dinner in honor of general and first secretaries and chairmen of communist and workers parties from nonsocialist countries participating in the 12th BCP Congress.

The meeting and dinner were attended by Charilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece; Niquila al-Shawi, chairman of the Lebanese Communist Party; Anthony Vassallo, secretary of the Communist Party of Malta; 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism; George Jackson, national secretary of New Zealand's Socialist Unity Party; Shafick Jorge Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador; Lars Werner, chairman of the Swedish Left Party-Communists; Rolf Hagel, chairman of the Swedish Labor Party-Communists; Thabo Mbeki, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, and others.

Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Dimitur Stanishev also attended the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Afghan's Press Conference

AU012100 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 1 Apr 81

["Saleh Ziray: 'There Are No Crises in Afghanistan But an Anti-Imperialist Revolution'"]--
BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Apr (BTA)--"Throughout the whole history of Afghanistan imperialism has never taken care of the destiny of the Afghan people. Care was taken only of several rich families who exploited the people. Now, when the popular anti-imperialist revolution has won, the West suddenly declared that the Afghan people need defence and help", said Mr Saleh Ziray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and member of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan. He spoke at a news conference with the Bulgarian and foreign journalists accredited to the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mr Saleh Ziray said that the people of Afghanistan support the April Revolution and for the first time in their history are rallied into a united front in defence of the country from imperialist reaction. As a corroboration to the consolidating processes in Afghanistan he pointed out the congresses of the trade unions, of the youth organization, of the peasant cooperatives and the democratic women's organization, of the unions of writers, journalists, and medical workers held there, stressing that the first congress of the national fatherland front is forthcoming.

Mr Ziray, who heads the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan at the 12th BCP Congress, expressed deep gratitude for the support of the Afghan revolution mentioned in the CC of the BCP report.

Mr Saleh Ziray said that formation of counter revolutionary gangs against Afghanistan continues in Pakistan and stressed that the limited contingent of Soviet armed forces will stay in Afghanistan until the day when the foreign interference will be stopped.

Mr Saleh Ziray refuted the allegations of some Western journalists about the so-called "crisis" in Afghanistan. "The notions should not be mixed up and revolution should not be called crisis", noted he. "There had never been such an anti-imperialist revolution in which the exploiting classes and reaction would cede power on their own free will".

To the question of the attitude of Afghanistan to Iran he said that his country supports the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, despite its waverings in certain respects caused by the activities of some reactionary groupings. "We hope that these grouping will not have the upper hand," said Mr Ziray.

The head of the Afghan delegation underlined that the international progressive public should exert pressure on Pakistan and the supporting it imperialist forces in order to halt the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

"The way out of the situation created in our region was pointed out by Mr Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress, of the CPSU. And the permanent arming of Pakistan with American weapons is directed against our country and against peace in the region", stressed he.
[as received]

Shcherbitskiy Visits Combine

AU011523 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] The CPSU delegation led by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, which is attending the 12th BCP Congress, has visited the scientific-production combine for metal-cutting machines in Sofia. The guests visited the department for power machines and the "Machinebuilding in Bulgaria" exhibition. The delegation was accompanied by Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Chudomir Aleksandrov, first secretary of the Sofia City party committee, and by Minister of Machinebuilding Toncho Chakurov.

2 Apr Morning Session

AU021001 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0700 GMT on 2 April carries live relay from the Sofia Palace of Culture in Sofia on the morning session of the 12th BCP Congress' third day.

At 0700 GMT reporter Ivan Mateev announces the beginning of a live relay from the congress hall. The meeting is chaired by Petur Mladenov, Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs. He gives the floor to Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry, who mentions the fact that today is the 25th anniversary of the historical April plenum. After this remark, greeted by applause, he dwells on the problems of Bulgaria's chemical industry. He stresses the necessity of intensifying the national economy. Pankov also dwells on the automation and mechanization of the chemical industry. He deals with international cooperation and integration with the USSR and CEMA in the chemical industry sector.

At 0716 GMT the floor is given to Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee in Burgas. He also pays tribute to the anniversary of the April plenum and to Todor Zhivkov. After this, he dwells on achievements of his okrug, inspired by the party's "April line." He pledges that his party organization will work for the correct application of a new economic mechanism. Zhishev approves the proposal amending the party statute and recommends the "restoration of the title general secretary of the party" which is in conformity with the "revolutionary spirit of the party and its traditions." He expresses support for the Polish people in their struggle against antisocialist elements, denounces Chinese hegemonists and approves Shcherbitskiy's greetings address to the congress.

At 0735 GMT the floor is given to Georgi Karaulanov, secretary of the Trade Union Central Council, Hero of Socialist Labor, and first secretary of the Sofia Okrug trade union leadership. He dwells on the April plenum policy and the workers class, stating that he and his generation were educated by Todor Zhivkov. He praises the advantages of the socialist system compared with the situation under capitalist regimes. Karaulanov praises the achievements of trade unions in promoting the party's economic and social policy, stressing that "no question is ever resolved in the country without the participation of the trade unions." He declares that he is deeply affected by the manner in which "subversive imperialist forces are deceiving workers in Poland" and appeals to the Bulgarian workers not to let themselves be deceived by any such attempts. This sentence is greeted by stormy applause. He further deals with responsibility of trade unions in "perfecting ideological work". He also mentions shortcomings in Bulgarian trade unions in "neglecting and underestimating the workers' participation in management" and in tolerating idleness and lack of discipline. He expresses confidence that the congress will give new support and inspiration to trade unions to improve their work even more. He hopes that "socialist economic democracy" will be further promoted and no "formalism" will be allowed. "Critical remarks of working people" must be listened to, Karaulanov states. He also mentions "international activities" of the trade unions which will continue to develop in solidarity with the international workers movement.

At 0750 GMT the floor is given to Yordan Yotov, chief editor of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union. Like all speakers today he mentions the April plenum and praises Zhivkov. He describes the qualities and shortcomings of his newspaper, strongly emphasizing "unity between party and people" and the role of the press in this respect. Yotov stresses the necessity of constructive criticism of shortcomings and against violations of discipline. He blames "certain leaders and responsible functionaries" who refuse to listen to justified criticism and "close their doors to journalists, including those from RABOTNICHESKO DELO".

At 0808 GMT Mladenov announces the arrival of a group of Young Pioneers, members of the children's organization, who recite poems and sing songs about the congress. The marching Pioneers, who present flowers to the delegates, are carrying banners and are greeted with applause. This ceremony ends at 0825 GMT. The congress then resumes its work.

At 0827 GMT the floor is given to Saleh Ziray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and member of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan. He describes the revolution in his country and the attempts of the imperialists to undermine this revolution. Ziray mentions with gratitude the assistance of the Soviet troops, which is based on the mutual treaty between the two countries and on the UN Charter. He dwells on the danger of the armed counterrevolutionary gangs, coming from Pakistan where they found asylum and were armed by U.S. "imperialists." He assures the delegates that his people "will be able to cope with the difficulties" thanks to the assistance of "friends throughout the world." He expresses gratitude to the BCP and to all "revolutionary forces in the world" for assistance in implementing revolution in Afghanistan and building a new life. He then thanks Zhivkov in particular for having expressed at the "high rostrum of 12th BPC Congress" solidarity with the cause of the Afghan people. He speaks his last words in Bulgarian.

At 0836 GMT the floor is given to Max Schaefer, member of the Presidium of the central leadership of the German Communist Party [DKP]. He remembers Georgi Dimitrov's heroism at Leipzig trial and admires Bulgaria's successes in the economic sector, comparing them to the situation in the FRG and other capitalist states. He describes the workers class struggle in his country. He dwells on unemployment, economic crisis and other difficulties in the Western world, praising the advantages of socialism. The DKP delegate denounces the decision to deploy U.S. missiles in West Germany and the German people's resistance against the government's "militarist" policy. Part of the social democrats are also against NATO, Reagan's policy and militarist trends in the FRG, the speaker states. He presents a message from Herbert Mies, chairman of his party.

At 0854 GMT Petur Mladenov gives the floor to the Ethiopian delegate--Berhanu Bayeh, member of the Central Committee Executive Committee of the Commission for the Organization of an Ethiopian Workers Party and member of the Military Provisional Council of Socialist Ethiopia. He thanks the BCP and the Bulgarian Government for support to the Ethiopian revolution since its very beginning. He denounces imperialism and the creation of military bases, as well as "rapid deployment forces" in the vicinity of his country.

At 0903 GMT Mladenov announces a recess of 30 minutes, after which the live relay is interrupted.

TODOR ZHIVKOV CABLES SYMPATHY TO RONALD REAGAN

AU011355 Sofia BTA in English 1343 GMT 1 Apr 81

["Indignation With the Criminal Act"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Apr (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, sent a telegram to the President of the United States, Mr Ronald Reagan, in which is expressed the indignation with the attempt on his life and in which the criminal act is denounced. Expressed are, too, sincere compassion and wishes for the soonest possible restoring of health of the American President.

ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME: TAKOV ARTICLE ON SOCIAL POLICY

AU281509 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 28 Mar 81

["BCP Politburo Member on Social Policy"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Mar (BTA)--Mr Peko Takov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and vice president of the State Council of Bulgaria, points out in a ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME article of today that the April line in the life of the Bulgarian Communist Party is characterized by overcoming some weaknesses: restoring the Leninist norms and principles of party life, calming down the disputes and putting an end to the brutality to cadres and people, improving the interrelations of the working class and the working peasants. Further on the author emphasizes that for the last 25 years--the years following the April plenum--Bulgaria has become industrialized and that the Bulgarian working class today produces 12 times more industrial output as compared to the years before the plenum. Stress is laid on the fact that for 25 years the industry has been maintaining the high annual rate of growth of 8.1 percent. Mr Peko Takov reports that for 25 years Bulgaria's national income has grown six-fold, the specialists engaged in the industry, agriculture, culture, education and science have increased 6.5-fold.

The author notes that in the years of the 7th five-year period alone (1976-1980) the amounts intended for social needs of the families, of the workteams, of the whole society, have been increased by 19 milliard leva as against the gains of the 6th five-year period. The real incomes of the workers in 1980 have been some 12.7 percent higher than in 1975 and today already the average monthly wages is 182 leva. The article says that the public consumption funds of last year have amounted to 619 leva per capita of the population as against 420 leva in 1975.

AFP QUOTES STOYAN MIKHAILOV ON POLISH CRISIS

NC301537 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Sofia, 30 Mar (AFP)--A high-ranking Bulgarian Communist Party official declared here today that Bulgaria was "deeply preoccupied by the situation in Poland." Central Committee Secretary Stoyan Mikhailov told a press conference that Polish party and state leaders had committed certain errors or failed to act positively in the economic development and reconstruction of their country. Such errors, he admitted, were responsible for the current "profound crisis" in Polish society.

Mr Mikhailov said, however, that anti-socialist forces within the independent trade union federation Solidarity had profited from the leadership's mistakes to plunge Poland into an even greater crisis. At its inception, he said, Solidarity was not a political organization but had now adopted political aims.

POLISH NATIONAL STRIKE ALERT CALLED OFF

LD011330 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Poland: In the head office of Walesa's trade unions in Gdansk suburbs, the meeting of the so-called Consultative Commission of Walesa's trade unions continued today. According to agencies' reports, it was decided at the meeting to call off the nationwide strike alert except for the Bydgoszcz area.

EXTREMISTS BLAMED FOR POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

Compromise Agreement Attacked

LD011258 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Excerpt] News agencies report that at a meeting attended by Jacek Kuron, leader of the anti-socialist organization of the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee, who acts in the ranks of Walesa's trade unions as a political adviser, extremist elements attacked the compromise agreement concluded on Monday by some representatives of Walesa's trade unions with the Council of Ministers' committee for trade union affairs.

It was claimed that the suspension of the strike was a mistake. One participant said: We have not utilized a unique opportunity to get almost everything, and he continued: The balloon of tension has deflated and we shall hardly succeed in creating the necessary atmosphere again. A further increase in tension was advocated at the meeting especially by representatives of those forces which are demanding the legalization of the trade union of individually working landowners. One of them said that in 2-3 weeks everything could start again and then it would be a real blood bath.

The majority of the meeting participants were induced to call off the general strike apparently by a number of letters and telegrams received yesterday in Gdansk from throughout Poland. Their authors demanded the calling off of the strike. Resolutions from a number of industrial enterprises, expressing the working people's support for the Monday agreement, were also read at the meeting.

The Gdansk meeting is to continue today with a discussion on whether the leadership of Walesa's trade unions should confirm the Monday compromise agreement and whether the strike alert should remain in force.

Antisocialist Tactics

LD011934 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1630 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Frantisek Sojka dispatch from Warsaw]

[Text] The national strike alert in Poland lasted several days. The warning strike took place and the activists of Walesa's trade unions carried out a wide propaganda campaign in which they blamed the party and government for the complicated current situation and all difficulties. They said the only possible solution was a strike. In spite of this, many people asked themselves where a road leading to dangerous confrontation--and this in conditions of a deep economic, social and political crisis--can take them. Nobody, however, gave them satisfactory answers to this question.

Also, the question of what the leaders of Solidarity could be discussing for 2 days in Gdansk caused some embarrassment, as Walesa said the results of negotiations with the government were 75 percent successful. Apart from other things, Solidarity achieved the resignation of the two deputy voivodas in Bydgoszcz, and that the events there which served as a pretext for creating tension all over Poland would be investigated again under the control of the general prosecutor and in the presence of Solidarity.

Walesa's trade unions will present their version of the events in the media. The controversial issues of allowing the creation of the trade union of independent farmers and of the law about trade unions will be forwarded to the Sejm as soon as possible. A governmental commission will visit Bydgoszcz for negotiations with the independent farmers, who are occupying the building of the Peasant Party in Bydgoszcz, and in spite of the previous governmental decision, all participants in the Friday strike will receive payment as for a day with justified absence.

The compromise, made by [word indistinct] of Walesa's trade unions, did not satisfy a number of its leaders. It has been again confirmed that there are forces in Solidarity which do not want any compromise, however advantageous. Faced with the deep crisis in Polish society, a crisis of political and economic life, they are well aware of the fact that they can practically any time achieve further goals with the help of such well-tested weapons as strikes and demagogic slogans. The tactics of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Poland are quite obvious: to alternate conflicts and negotiations, and slowly but surely, step after step, to consolidate their positions and implement their intentions.

Today's daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY published a commentary under an optimistic headline: "We Shall Resume the 90 Days of Peace." Optimistic, in my opinion, because last time there were not even 30 days of peace. And the various strikes and conflicts created by Solidarity since September last year, after the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, are uncountable but their consequences are apparent everywhere. Catastrophic shortages of food, falling industrial and agricultural production, the breaking of working and civic discipline. Fewer and fewer flats are built; foreign debts are growing. However, the number of copies of illegal printed material and attacks on party and state officials by various antisocialist associations, Solidarity or the so-called Independent Association of Students, is on the increase.

The 10-point government program, and the 90 days of peace were to be an attempt to overcome this deep destabilization, the fulfillment of which was interrupted by the gross interference of Solidarity. The pressing problem of what next and what program Solidarity would be willing to accept, remains basically open. But the differences around the acceptance of the results of negotiations with the governmental commission indicate much.

Kuron's 'Machinations'

LD012116 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] According to today's agency reports, the Gdansk meeting of the leaders of Walesa's trade unions was extremely stormy. The meeting was naturally attended, together with other dissidents, by Jacek Kuron, a leader of the antisocialist organization KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee]. He posed here as an official political adviser of Solidarity. Kuron is a typical example of the political acrobat who, behind a pseudo-democratic facade, conceals his antisocialist tricks.

In the last few days, he and some other KOR representatives greatly consolidated their positions in Solidarity and started to put forward extremist demands. These people have entrenched themselves mainly in the propaganda and information spheres. As the army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote recently, the strategic objective of KOR is to overthrow the socialist system in Poland, sever its relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and open Poland to the ideological and military-political influence of imperialism. Unfortunately, they have already achieved many successes in Poland. Proof of this is the current difficult supplies situation which is borne out by these clips [film clips shown on TV]. They show only too well where Polish society has ended after 8 months of machinations by Jacek Kuron in Solidarity. There is only one way out from this situation: honest work, and this holds good all over the world, including Poland.

Concessions Scored

AU011430 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 81 p 6

[Jan Lipavsky-Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "Poland's Difficult Days"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE PROVOCATIVE POSTERS AND LEAFLETS PLASTERED THIS SATURDAY ON THE WALLS OF WARSAW AND OTHER CITIES IN POLAND BY YOUNG TOUGHS FROM "SOLIDARITY"--THIS IS ONE OF THE DETAILS FORMING THE PICTURE OF THE TENSE ATMOSPHERE PREVALENT IN TODAY'S POLAND. THE MOST AGGRESSIVE "SOLIDARITY" MEMBERS DO NOT STOP AT ANYTHING. VIOLENCE AND WILLINGNESS ARE A PREVAILING EXPRESSION OF THEIR ACTIVITIES.

For instance, during the so-called warning strike on Friday they prevented, by force, the people who wanted to work from entering their working places in the Warsaw automobile factory and in other plants in the country. They also prevented certain journalists from the socialist countries, among them RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA reporters, from entering the building of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], where talks were held on Friday and Saturday between the government committee and the "Solidarity" delegation. Thus the members of the Walesa's trade unions decided which journalists, from which country, were to be let into this state building.

On Sunday Warsaw was again flooded by provocative posters and leaflets. In them, "Solidarity" urged the state bodies to release, among others, L. Moczulski and his chums who have been detained pending investigation and who are to be tried for antistate activity. Other leaflets demand, in ultimatum form, the registering of so-called Rural "Solidarity." On Sunday, too, the attacks on prominent party and state representatives were multiplying. The bulletin of Masovia "Solidarity" that is being spread around the capital and its environs contains, among other things, information on how to carry out a strike. At Warsaw University, which has for some time been the forum of Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, bosses of the antistate KOR organization, we again found a multitude of antistate slogans.

To complete the picture of the tension and methods used in "Solidarity's" activities: The occupation strike organized in Bydgoszcz by a group of private farmers, who have penetrated the ZSL's headquarters building and are demanding the registration of so-called Rural "Solidarity", is continuing. The farmers' leader, Jan Kulaj, declared in a television interview that the occupation of the ZSL's headquarters will last until all demands are fulfilled. From his statement it is obvious that the farmers' so-called independent trade unions are to play the role of a political party in rural areas. Replying to a question on who is working for you while you are striking here, Kulaj said: "Our colleagues are working for us; and what we harvest, we will divide only among ourselves."

The army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI published an article on the subversive activities of the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR), which is inspiring the radical and destructive trend in "Solidarity." Although this trend is not numerous, it is regrettably strong, the paper states. Its representatives have permeated the leading "Solidarity" links and are holding the most important positions there, especially in the sphere of information and propaganda. This provides them with a broad scope of activities and enables them to influence the opinions of certain groups of people and manipulate them. The core of these extremists again consists of KOR members.

KOR'S STRATEGIC AIM IS TO OVERTHROW THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN POLAND, TO BREAK OFF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC'S [PPR] TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST STATES, AND TO EXPOSE POLAND TO THE IDEOLOGICAL AND MILITARY-POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF IMPERIALISM, the newspaper writes. It concludes by quoting Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR's Council of Ministers, who expressed the hope that, with joint effort, it might be possible to avert the danger concealed in the warning and general strike that has been declared and in the victory of arbitrariness over common sense and the sense of responsibility.

All Polish soldiers fully approve of these words, the army daily writes. The interests of the fatherland and of all people demand that every normally thinking Pole disassociate himself from the persons who are risking the country's future in their dirty game. It is proper to remind these persons that IF THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL OVERTHROW SOCIALISM, THEY ARE DEEPLY IN ERROR. TOGETHER WITH ALL HONEST PEOPLE IN POLAND, THE SOLDIERS WILL DEFEND SOCIALISM IN THE SAME WAY THAT THEY ARE DEFENDING ITS INDEPENDENCE, the Polish daily concludes.

Poland has listened with great attention and hope for a change in the current development to the opening speech delivered by K. Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the ninth session of the party's Central Committee. Millions of people heard that the antisocialist forces are conducting an open fight for power.

This is the truth facing the PZPR's members and candidate members, all its bodies and organizations. It is no coincidence that all those who realize the danger of the counter-revolution have very seriously received the appeal for the ideological and political unity of the entire party, the appeal to strengthen its action ability as the basic prerequisite for finding a way out of the present grave crisis.

We often hear from our Polish comrades the opinion that, at a time when an open power fight is being conducted against the party and people's power, it is foolish to think that peace and order will reign in Poland the very minute the Bydgoszcz conflict is concluded by some kind of compromise. AN INCREASING NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE REALIZING THAT CONCESSIONS TO ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES, REGARDLESS OF WHERE THEY ARE RECRUITED, MERELY MEAN THE ESTABLISHING OF CONDITIONS FOR THEM TO ATTACK THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM ANEW.

Many commentators who have been following the developments since last August state that it is not a dialogue that is being conducted in Poland, but a great monologue conducted by "Solidarity." Every attitude differing from that maintained by the leaders of Walesa's trade unions is immediately called an attack against them and their organizations.

The truth is that the monopoly in shaping public opinion has been autocratically seized by the leaders of Walesa's trade unions, who are manipulating public opinion and who have for months been striving to set the members of their organization against the people's power and the party. TODAY, THEY ALREADY MAKE NO SECRET OF THE FACT THAT, REGARDLESS OF THE FINAL RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS AROUND THE BYDGOSZCZ AFFAIR, "ONE MUST CONTINUE AND PENETRATE TO THE VERY SUBSTANCE OF THE SYSTEM." In the bulletin of the Masovia "Solidarity" we can read that now it is not so much a matter of recalling the minister of interior and the prosecutor general as it is one of "general affairs." By these affairs, "Solidarity" means (to quote W. Kaminski, one of its "exporters"), "new elections to the Sejm and a change of the entire election system." What change, and for what purpose, everyone can figure out for himself.

PRESS REPORTS U.S. SPACE SHUTTLE MILITARY PLANS

AU011207 [Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 31 Mar on page 5 carries a 200-word unattributed report devoted to the planned launching of the U.S. space shuttle. The report says that although the space vehicle is to serve scientific and commercial purposes, the Pentagon is not really trying to conceal that the space shuttle's main use will be military, and quotes Dr James Van Allen of Iowa University saying, in an interview with the New York TIMES, that one should openly admit that the space shuttle is a military program. Next, the report quotes Dr Eric Chaisson, astronomy professor at Harvard University, as having said that he and many of his colleagues are convinced the space shuttle's main purpose is launching military satellites into orbit. The report also notes that Lt Gen Daniel Graham, "former director of the Pentagon espionage agency and at present cochairman of the rightist 'Society for Peace through Strength,'" is "downright enthusiastic" about the opportunity to employ the space shuttle for extensive military research and experiments, and hopes that the space vehicle will provide U.S. strategic superiority over the USSR.

The report closes saying that a number of facts attest to the military orientation of the space shuttle program, one of them being the U.S. Airforce announcement that it will build, at the cost of \$450 million, an operational center in Colorado, designed to control flights of military space shuttles and military espionage satellites.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 31 Mar on page 2 also carries a 200-word report, attributed to CTK, on the impending space shuttle launching. The first part of the report is identical with that published in MLADA FRONTA, but expanding on Dr Chaisson's statement, adding that he has said that his superiors ordered him to keep his view that the main purpose of the space vehicle will be launching military satellites into orbit to himself; otherwise his university's federal subsidy for scientific research could be pared. The CTK report further notes that the loading area of the space shuttle has been enlarged, on U.S. Airforce request, to 18 meters in length and 4.5 meters in diameter, thus making it possible to launch "new espionage satellites" into orbit. U.S. strategists are also playing with the idea of constructing, with the space shuttle's help, a big artificial earth satellite that would serve as a command post to direct military operations. Another plan reportedly counts on using the space shuttle to assemble an artificial satellite equipped with a "laser weapon" which could be fired on command from earth, the report concludes.

ECONOMIC, TRADE TALKS WITH MEXICO REPORTED

FL311652 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0255 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Mexico City, 30 Mar (NOTIMEX)--The Foreign Secretariat reported today that the third meeting of the Mexico-Czechoslovakia joint economic and trade commission has ended. The current state of mutual economic cooperation was analyzed at the 3-day meeting in Prague. The implementation of the agreements reached at the previous meeting, held in 1979, was also analyzed and new recommendations and measures were proposed to intensify bilateral economic cooperation.

The Mexican delegation was headed by Ambassador Rogelio Martinez Aguilar, director in chief for economic affairs. Mexican ambassador to Czechoslovakia Roberto Casellas Leal and representatives from the Commerce, Patrimony and Industrial Development, and Treasury Secretariats and the Mexican Institute of Foreign Trade also participated.

The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by the deputy minister at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, Jaroslav Jakubec. It confirmed its readiness to cooperate in the development of priority areas of the Mexican economy by means of several joint actions designed toward this end such as the implementation of studies and projects. It was also decided to exchange experts and participate in joint investments.

In evaluating the development of trade between Mexico and Czechoslovakia, the delegations acknowledged that greater efforts must be made to make it more dynamic. They also agreed to establish new mechanisms that may reduce Mexico's persistent deficit in bilateral trade. The Czechoslovak delegation expressed interest in importing, among other things, sulphur, coffee, tripolyphosphates, fruit preserves, fresh fruit, vegetables and fish, denim slacks and other textiles from Mexico. The delegations examined the state of cooperation in industrial areas. They expressed satisfaction over the federal electricity's commission's recent award to Czechoslovakia of the project to supply hydraulic turbines to the Penitas plant which will be the starting point for the joint manufacture of electronic equipment.

BRIEFS

VISITING ITALIAN DELEGATION--A delegation of the Italian association for cultural, sports and tourist contacts abroad, led by Adolfo Peroni, was received on 23 March in Prague by Rudolf Hromadka, leading secretary of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, to discuss possibilities of cooperation between the two nongovernmental organizations. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Mar 81 p 2 AU]

HONECKER CONGRATULATES U.S. COMMUNIST ON SED AWARD

LD020906 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Apr (ADN)--Henry Winston, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, has been awarded the Karl Marx Order by GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers. Henry Winston was awarded this highest GDR order on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The SED Central Committee message of congratulations, signed by Erich Honecker, states: "Regardless of all political persecution and repressive measures, you, as a son of the working class, have held unshakeable faith with the ideals of socialism. As national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party you have done lasting service in strengthening the party. Through your untiring work to consolidate the action unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, you enjoy high international regard. In view of the aggravation of the international situation through imperialism, your untiring work is more than ever for the struggle to secure world peace, for international detente and disarmament."

FRG CITIZEN DETAINED FOR VIOLATING COMMON BORDER

AU020656 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 29 March 1981 FRG citizen Paul Marguli violated the GDR state border in the Heilignestadt area. Marguli was detained. The GDR organs in charge are examining the details of the border violation.

FRG CITIZEN SENTENCED FOR ABUSE OF TRANSIT ROUTES

AU020811 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Mar 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 26 March the Schwerin Bezirk court sentenced FRG citizen Werner Kanthak to 4 years and 6 months imprisonment for crimes under section 105 of the penal code connected with the abuse of the transit agreement. Kanthak participated in crimes against the transit routes, which were organized by gangs. Following his orders he deliberately violated the stipulations of the transit agreement in committing his subversive acts. The car used in the crime--an "Opel-Kadett" with license plate KI-AT550--was impounded.

LOSONCZI CABLES GET-WELL WISHES TO REAGAN

LD011144 Budapest MTI in English 1033 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 1 Apr (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, has sent a telegram to President Ronald Reagan of the United States in which he wishes a rapid recovery for him and his companions, wounded in the murderous attempt. [as received]

RADIO ON WEST'S PARADOXICAL ATTITUDE OVER POLAND

LD011146 Budapest in English to Europe 2000 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] The [words indistinct] easing of social confrontation in Poland, the agreement calling off the national strike envisaged for today, has also met with a favorable response in other countries. Naturally, this does not mean that the political situation in Poland is all right. It is certain that Poland faces further great hardships until a satisfactory solution is found, and the Polish crisis will remain an element of major importance of world politics in the weeks and months to come. From the newsroom, Istvan Kollar:

The Polish situation to some extent is a barometer in world politics, for attitudes to the crisis in Poland are a concentrated reflection of the world political situation, even though it has been underlined by all sides that the Poles themselves should overcome the difficulties.

Influential circles in the West display paradoxical attitudes. While they do their utmost to create a hysterical atmosphere and imply that intervention by member-states of the Warsaw Treaty organization is imminent, they, on the other hand, refrain from inciting the subversive elements inside Poland to a more extremist behavior. At the same time, however, the line pursued by the aggressive forces is characterized by carrying out extremist incitement through indirect means, including an irresponsible propaganda campaign involving rumors of foreign intervention. However, they want to avoid a direct confrontation and make maximum political gain by not taking, at least for the time being, the final risk.

Nobody perhaps has illusions about this perilous policy, but it has to be seen clearly that a global confrontation would also test the weak points of the Western system. It would evoke enormous dangers from the point of view of Western public opinion, the Western system of alliance and relations with the Third World. In other words, the attitudes to the Polish crisis clearly disclose real interrelationships, which are far from being disfavorable to Washington. This is clearly indicated by the torrent of arrogant words by the American national security adviser, Richard Allen, abusing the Europeans' desire for peace, [words indistinct] the pope's address to his fellow countrymen calling for soberness and work.

Despite all the Western intrigues and propaganda, it is clear that the main question is whether the West can afford a confrontation over Poland, desired by the American militarists. It is a different question whether this kind of anticipation of the situation leaves any reason for optimism. As far as the Hungarian stand is concerned, [words indistinct] that was also reflected by the communique which was issued on the latest session of the MSZMP Central Committee. The communique pointed out that Hungary consistently aims to utilize every opportunity so that no chance should be missed to promote peace and security in the best possible way.

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN OFFICIAL'S VISIT--At the invitation of Imre Szabo, deputy minister of industry, Luliana Bucur, Romanian secretary of state for light industry, has visited Budapest. During the visit, agreement was reached on tasks serving further development of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation in the area of light industry in 1981-85 and the main trends of economic and technical-scientific cooperation between enterprises directly concerned. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Mar 81 p 7 AU]

MORE ON KKP 1 APR MEETING; OFFICIALS RESIGN, OUSTED

LD011638 Koszalin Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] We begin our news with a report from Gdansk:

The second round of talks of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity began today after a delay of more than 1 hour at the headquarters of the Gdansk Interfactory Founding Committee. Discussions continued on the contents of the joint statement by the KKP and the government. It was very difficult to obtain direct reports about the talks because the organizers admitted into the hall only representatives of trade union newsheets and newspapers. But reporters from the press, radio and television spent several hours outside waiting for a fresh decision.

Unfortunately, the situation dragged on. A group of reporters, including reporters from town papers, Gdansk radio and television, the Polish Press Agency, TRYBUNA LUDU, the central film agency, the [name indistinct] weekly, the GLOS STOCZNIOWCA and the Solidarity agency together made a resolute protest against the work of reporters being made impossible in a situation when the whole Polish public was waiting for the latest reports from Gdansk. The protest was passed to the KKP chairman of NSZZ Solidarity and to the chairman of the central board of the Association of Polish Journalists.

Despite this unpleasant situation we managed to obtain, by virtually sticking our ears to the doors, the most important decisions to date. Thus, in the first part of today's deliberations which ended at 1345 the strike alert was called off except for Bydgoszcz Voivodship and this, it was subsequently stressed, amounts to the dissolution of the National Strike Commission. The decision was taken with 26 votes for, 5 against and 5 abstaining.

Another important matter: The participants in the deliberations, with 36 votes in favor, decided to appoint a working group of the KKP to handle further negotiations with the government. It was mentioned that just yesterday it was stated that in the present situation it is a waste of time to use strike action as a basic argument for conducting talks with the government. After a break of more than 1 hour the talks were resumed at 1500.

More on Working Groups

LD011750 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] As we have already reported, at the deliberations of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity which are taking place in Gdansk at the headquarters of the local Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ], a decision has been taken to call off the national strike alert with the exception of Bydgoszcz Voivodship, where the strike alert is still in force. The Gdansk deliberations of the Solidarity leadership are still continuing.

In a published statement, the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity accepts the document of 30 March 1981 as an initial agreement, enabling negotiations to begin with the government on the main points of conflict. The KKP instructs problem teams to prepare within 7 days a detailed standpoint taking into consideration the standpoint of workforces and, on the issue of private farmers forming trade unions, the agreement with the NSZZ of Individual Farmers.

On the basis of the initial agreement and the announcement of detailed negotiations with the government, the KKP has decided to call off the national strike and the strike alert. A decision on the strike alert in the Bydgoszcz region is being left by the KKP to the plenum of the MKZ of that region.

The KKP will enter into negotiations without the threat of a strike, believing that it will be treated this time as a partner, in accordance with earlier statements by government representatives. The statement was accepted by a majority of votes an hour ago during the deliberations of the KKP in Gdansk.

One more important issue: Those taking part in the deliberations, with 36 votes in favor, decided to set up working groups of the KKP for further negotiations with the government. Thus, six working groups have been set up which will concern themselves with the problems of law and order; the issue of those imprisoned for their beliefs; the trade union of private farmers; the mass media; the antistrike law; and the events in Bydgoszcz. It was proposed these six topics should form the basis for the next talks between Solidarity representatives and the government.

As we broadcast this evening news program, the next round of talks of the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity is beginning.

Gwiazda Resignation Rejected

LD012338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Excerpt] The National Consultative Commission [KKP] has accepted the resignation of Karol Modzelewski from the post of Solidarity press spokesman. His post has been temporarily taken over until the next deliberations of the KKP by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the Mazowsze region's press spokesman.

However, the KKP did not agree to accept the resignation submitted by deputy chairman of the union, Andrzej Gwiazda, member of the Presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee in Gdansk.

As a result of a secret ballot, with 17 votes for and 13 against, until the next deliberations of the KKP [phrase as heard], Andrzej Zielinski has been removed from the post of secretary of the KKP.

The date of the next meeting of the KKP Presidium of Solidarity has been fixed for Friday, 3 April. It will be held in Gdansk.

Bujak To Study Talks' Renewal

LD012054 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Interview granted by Bogdan Lis, deputy chairman of the National Consultative Commission NSZZ Solidarity to unidentified correspondent during break in Solidarity talks in Gdansk 1 April--recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] I know that there was discussion of the issue of a possible postponement of the talks with the government commission. Has a decision on this issue been taken?

[Answer] Yes, we have decided that the issue of (?renewing) talks with the government representatives from the office of the Council of Ministers (?is to be entrusted to) Zbigniew Bujak, who will later present the results of his work to the National Consultative Commission.

Onyszkiewicz on KKP Talks

LD012149 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Interview of Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Mazowsze region MKZ Presidium member, by Warsaw radio's Gdansk reporter Piotr Szatkowski, on 1 April in Gdansk--recorded]

[Text] [Question] At the ninth hour of the second day of deliberations of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk, I am talking to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Presidium member of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of Mazowsze region. How can we sum up the deliberations, which are now probably about to finish?

[Answer] First and foremost, the union has taken a stand and, as far as the result of the talks with the government is concerned, the union has accepted the results obtained by the negotiating team as the basis for further activity and further discussions with the government. Of course this is a compromise. It is a compromise which is far from what we would like but it is a basis for further talks with the government, talks which, we hope, will be taking place in a calmer atmosphere, without any strike threats; which, let us hope, will lead to some further constructive solutions. I think that we will now have a period of peace which will permit us to consolidate and continue with the elections to the regions and to start to concern ourselves with other extremely important issues in negotiations and talks with the government which, let us hope, will yield some results.

[Question] It is nearly 2100 and the discussion continues. In the nearest future, how do you intend to implement the demands which have not been settled, which have not been realized?

[Answer] We intend to set up a number of working groups which will prepare our stand on these most important issues: farmers, the Bydgoszcz problem, a package of schemes on the rule of law in our country. In charge of this package will be our chairman, Zbyszek Bujak. The next problem is the so-called antistrike bill introduced by the government not so long ago. There still remains the problem of access to the mass media, a problem very painful for the union, and a few others. The groups to be set up will prepare materials for our further talks with the government, for the negotiations which, let us hope, will commence at an early date.

In addition to deciding to set up these six working groups, the KKP has, as we know, called off at its Gdansk meeting the general strike and the strike alert.

[Question] The last question: Will the KKP end its deliberations today?

[Answer] I think so. The most important matters have been dealt with. Anyway, everybody is tired, everyone has to get back to his region and deal on the spot with local matters and pass on all that has been decided here.

Bujak: Strike Call 'Error'

LD012100 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Zbigniew Bujak [Solidarity official] has granted an interview to the editors of KURIER WARSZAWSKI.

[Begin Bujak recording] I must say that it was a pleasant surprise to me that everybody arrived with a fairly precise and very sensible standpoint. It turned out that everybody realizes perfectly well the situation we (?are in), despite the very, well, doubtful progress in the talks with the government. The main point is that in the present situation the proclamation of a general strike (?was simply) an enormous tactical error and everybody realized this perfectly. The next thing is that, despite the great (?fears), there is no sign of the union (?dissolving), that is to say, we told each other a great deal of truth about our standpoints, about our mutual animosities, but despite that there is no sign of a division, (?strictly speaking), among us. Today is already leading to very constructive solutions but I still have the impression that not everyone realizes the seriousness of the situation we are in. [Passage indistinct] [end recording]

KKP Talks End

LD012342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Excerpts] The 2-day deliberations of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity ended yesterday in Gdansk. As a result of the Gdansk deliberations, a package of problem issues has been fixed [word indistinct] of the next talks, and those responsible for preparing and reporting on them have been selected. Nine proposals concerning the principles of carrying on negotiations between Solidarity and government representatives were written into a protocol.

WALENTYNOWICZ RISKS EXPULSION FROM TU FOR EXTREMISM

NC011432 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Gdansk, northern Poland, 1 Apr (AFP)--Anna Walentynowicz, the Lenin Shipyard crane driver whose sacking triggered last summer's strikes in this Baltic port, risks expulsion from Solidarity's Gdansk section executive for extremism.

A solidarity source said that Mrs Walentynowicz, a 32-year-old radical militant in the independent union movement long before it won legal recognition, was attempting to "undermine the authority of Lech Walesa", the Solidarity leader.

The source said that shipyard workers had voted to withdraw her mandate to represent them in the union confederation.

Mrs Walentynowicz's extremism is no secret in Poland. She has repeatedly accused the moderate Mr Walesa of "over-compromising" with authorities and at the union's National Coordinating Committee meeting here yesterday voted against calling off the threatened general strike.

The Solidarity source said that the Gdansk branch would meet today to consider Mrs Walentynowicz's case.

Gdansk Branch Rejects Ouster

NC020741 Paris AFP in English 0730 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 2 April (AFP)--Leaders of Poland's independent labor federation Solidarity only voted to lift strike preparations throughout the country yesterday after a serious confrontation between hard-liners and moderates.

This was confirmed by Solidarity head Lech Walesa at the close of the federation's National Coordinating Committee deliberations here last night.

"Everything indicates that I and Mr (Mieczyslaw) Rakowski (the deputy premier who negotiated with the federation) were right in believing there would be a struggle between factions in this country," Mr Walesa said.

Coordination Committee Secretary Andrzej Zielinski, a supporter of Mr Walesa, was ousted from that post by a vote of no-confidence. Solidarity spokesman Karol Modzelewski and Deputy Chairman Andrzej Gwiazda both submitted their resignations, but the committee refused to let them step down.

The committee re-examined the compromise struck by Mr Walesa and Deputy Premier Rakowski 2 nights ago and studied whether to set up six working groups for possible future negotiations on points of that agreement.

The six points are: giving trade unionists speaking time on television, having authorities and workers alike refrain from illegal actions, and the issues of releasing political prisoners, setting up a farmers' trade union, abolishing an anti-strike decree and punishing officials responsible for the beating of trade unionists in Bydgoszcz.

Meanwhile, the Gdansk district branch of Solidarity declined to oust radical union militant Anna Walentynowicz, 52, from her position as the Lenin Shipyard's representative on the national committee.

She has repeatedly accused Mr Walesa of softness. She voted to go ahead with a general strike this week. The wave of strikes last August that resulted in the creation of unions free of communist control was triggered by her sacking as a crane operator at the Lenin yard.

The Gdansk union committee sent the charges against her of sapping Mr Walesa's authority back to the shipyard's union for "further study". [Passage indistinct].

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVES SOLIDARITY AGREEMENT

LD012300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] We learn from the government press spokesman that the premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, yesterday chaired a meeting of the Council of Ministers which met to evaluate the current situation in the country and the tasks which emanate from it.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski briefed the Council of Ministers on the course of the talks between the Commission for Trade Union Affairs and the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity led by Chairman Lech Walesa, and has made an evaluation of the agreement concluded.

Aware of the deepest responsibility for the fate of the country, we have tried to avert the conflict and, through a rapprochement in the assessment of events and acceptance of relevant conclusions, to reach a harmonious stand. We, both the government side and Solidarity, have done so.

We have adopted joint accords which formed a basis for calling off the strike. At the same time they should become not only a platform for the future resolving of individual problems, but also a program of joint actions which in future could effectively prevent the emergence of conflicts.

In the discussion members of the Council of Ministers adopted a positive attitude to the agreement reached. They pointed to its role in averting strikes and stressed at the same time that some formulations call for additional elucidations. The agreement also lacks a stand on the part of the Solidarity representatives toward the demands submitted by the government during the talks concerning the conditions for stabilizing the situation in the country.

Formulating these reservations, to be examined separately, the Council of Ministers generally accepted the signed agreement. At the same time, it authorized the commission for trade union affairs in the next talks with Solidarity representatives to present problems connected with joint responsibility for halting the deteriorating economic situation in the country, which presents a permanent danger to the population's living conditions.

These problems should also be discussed with the industrial and autonomous trade unions.

In conclusion, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski said in part that the agreement is the outcome of efforts by both sides to relieve the tension and ensure that the country has calm, a fundamental condition today for solving the urgent social and economic problems. The future of our country, the fate of the nation, now as never before in our history depends on social calm, on universal and conscious discipline and a sense of responsibility which is a condition for stabilization, which will enable the economy to be set in order and the essential means of life to be produced in order to satisfy the basic needs of the population.

Valuable help is given to us by the Soviet Union, which has recently granted our request for additional, above-plan deliveries of various, essential raw and finished materials. We are also making efforts to secure a flow of essential credits from other countries, of materials and foodstuffs at least. However, a condition of trust in our ability to solve the fundamental problems, a factor which will help other states to go half-way to meet our needs, is stabilization and our own work.

In this situation, everything has to be done to strengthen commonsense and responsibility, to counteract extremist tendencies, tendencies of social disorientation and violation of the law. It is an important task to guarantee the conditions for the smooth running of the economy and the work of the government. The work of the administration must not be hampered by restricting the powers of directors and factory personnel who organize production. Social order should be universally and absolutely observed.

In its work, the government meets with the full understanding and support of the party leadership and also of the allied parties: the ZSL and the SD. The broad mass of non-party people also appreciates its attitude. In its activity, the government will create conditions for using all positive initiatives. It aims among other things at mutual trust and constructive cooperation with the trade unions. We will be making new proposals on this matter. In solving the existing problems we are counting on advice and participation from people of science and culture, on the activeness of social organizations and, above all, we are counting on the workforces of plants, on the working class, whose responsibility is decisively significant for the fate of Poland. The main problem now is concern for a regular rhythm of work and thus of supplies to the market and the meeting of social needs. The government is counting on its efforts in this sector being supported by a civic attitude by workforces.

RAKOWSKI COMMENTS ON KKP GDANSK RESOLUTION

LD020030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] There was a meeting in Warsaw yesterday between a group of journalists, representatives of the press, radio and television, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The course of the talks between the government and Solidarity was discussed. The deputy premier reported that the agreement initialled by the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity and the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs had been approved at yesterday's session of the Council of Ministers. Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that he is aware of the resolution passed in Gdansk by the KKP accepting the agreement but reserving for itself the right to supplement it, as topics for negotiation, with the demands made by the workforces. If these demands are added to the accepted agreement, this would mean the opening of a new phase of negotiations with the Solidarity delegation.

Adding to this part of the deputy premier's statement, Jozef Klasa, head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee, said that the government had been given full powers by the Central Committee plenum to do everything to avert a strike.

More on Rakowski Comments

LD020914 Warsaw PAP in English 0809 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr (PAP)--A group of journalists, representatives of the press, radio and television, had a meeting with Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski today. It was attended by head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PUWP Central Committee Jozef Klasa. The vice-premier told the journalists that at its meeting earlier today, the Council of Ministers unanimously approved the agreement initialled on March 30 by the "Solidarnosc" National Consultative Commission and the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions.

"We cannot treat 'Solidarnosc' as our opponents, but as partners. The organization is often [word indistinct] but this may be because it is a spontaneous movement," said Rakowski. "If the government is successful in promoting stabilization in the country, we are up for reorganization in various walks of life, including the mass media. The idea is being contemplated to call into being a ministry or office of information," Rakowski said.

SOLIDARITY DECISION TO CALL OFF STRIKE PRAISED

LD011518 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The seriousness of the moment and awareness of one's responsibilities--I think these two things are to be found at the root of the decision to call off the general strike and the strike alert by the National Consultative Commission [KKP] and more--love for the fatherland and awareness of one's duties.

One should not be ashamed of using such words, especially given the kind of days we are now living through. Solidarity's decision attests to its loyalty to the nation, to the workforces at thousands of workplaces. We have heard that discussion in the hall where the proceedings were held was not easy. Lech Walesa gave the impression of being both very concerned and very tired. The KKP was not unanimous in its decision. People, after all, have every right to have doubts. There have been so many of these promises, followed by anniversaries of these promises--maybe this time we will again have only promises and nothing else? However, the people in the hall at the shipyard, people who came from their workplaces did have trust, not for the promises, but, I think, for themselves, above all.

Conscious of their responsibility for the fatherland, of the role they play in Poland of the eighties--well, I repeat--they did turn out to be loyal. But both sides are bound to being loyal at all levels, hierarchies and structures, irrespective of what has been said, is being said and will be said. One thing has to become axiomatic and not open to any discussion at all: No matter what function or position people occupy, their role is to serve the nation since it is the nation that feeds them, evaluates their work and is the republic's sovereign. Only by understanding this fact will the voivodas, deputy voivodas, secretaries, heads, chairmen and all those who have been called upon to serve, be approved by the nation and enjoy its confidence.

A cloud has passed over Poland but no rain came forth. Thank God for that!

Over the past few days--an encouraging conclusion, this--an enormous consolidation of society has come into being. Bonds within it have become stronger. For many years now we have not had such unity among workforces, a genuine unity, as opposed to one which has merely been proclaimed on pieces of paper. We have no need for resolutions and frank statements which the teleprinters keep churning out by the thousand, because we have an awakened consciousness of our very own, a collective consciousness of the fact that we are participating in the grand cause of Poland's renewal which no one will stop.

Now we have to hold more talks. We must ensure that the spirit of agreement is kept up now that the worst is behind us.

The country has breathed a sigh of relief. How are we to lead it out of its crisis? This is a task for all of us to solve, not during days of strike, but during everyday life in Poland.

RAKOWSKI DEBATES PROBLEMS OF POWER, RESPONSIBILITY

AU011340 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28-29 Mar 81 pp 1,3

[Jerzy Wojcik interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski: "To Respond"--date and place not given; both men use the familiar Polish "ty" form]

[Text] We talked with Deputy Premier Rakowski a few hours before another round of talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and a delegation of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission.

[Question] Will we talk as a journalist to another journalist or as a journalist to a high state official?

[Answer] Do not waste time. What is on your mind?

[Question] The party and society know you as a politician and publicist who is critical of the reality and who advocates democratic reforms. Are you still like that?

[Answer] I have not changed my views on the issues I regard as most important for Poland--the issues I have for years regarded as most important for the country and socialism. As a matter of fact, I do not see any major changes in my activities. [paragraph continues]

I continue to be firmly convinced that the socialist system requires changes. The system's structures should be adjusted to the current level of production forces, to social awareness as it is and to all new organizational forms that have come into being, especially in the last few months.

I also continue to believe that our social system cannot develop creatively and be accepted by society if it does not meet society's ambitions. The question is not so much economic aspirations because they will always increase as the living standards increase and because people will always want more. But I think that Polish society's main aspiration is and always will be primarily the respect of the authorities for humanist values and their ability to make decisions that can be rationally justified.

I also believe--perhaps this is the experience of the past few weeks--that the Polish nation is pained most of all by violations--I stress--any violations of legality. Legality and the authorities' conduct in keeping with the letter and spirit of the law is to me the most important issue for today and tomorrow. Our society attaches great importance to equality before the law and demands that no element of state power be excepted from social and legal control.

Perhaps that is the only change I have made in my views.

[Question] While on this subject: If you have remained faithful to your views, do you not see that not all the issues you have fought for are relevant ones, at least in the immediate future?

[Answer] Following my initial experience, my conclusion is that coming nearer to the aims I have professed and still profess continues to require constant efforts to overcome very many obstacles, which one encounters not only in the material sphere and in the sphere of regulations--let us call them bureaucratic regulations--but also in the sphere of the psychological conditions of people, especially of some cadres. In a word, the policy of improving or reforming the social system seems to me a policy that will proceed in enormous zig-zags and will often require concessions in this or that matter so that it can continue. In a word, when I was only the chief editor of POLITYKA I thought that making changes was a simpler task. I can no longer assert that....

[Question] Those problems are simply more complicated....

[Answer] You know, I have even entertained the thought that if I were able to have a say in forming the government, for example, I would propose that first-class journalists who write articles appealing for action should be given at least a few high posts. I would do that if only to give such journalists the opportunity to find out for themselves how incredibly complicated the process of achieving progress in various fields is.

[Question] That would no doubt be a costly experiment, but I would like to develop your idea. Up to now the government has been quite free in its actions. That can be said in respect not only to the past 10 years, but also to a longer period than that time. We have now arrived at the most difficult moment--a moment of economic, psychological and political crisis and a state of enormous tension in the country and around the country. At the same time, the government's hands are tightly tied. Its opportunities for any maneuvering are smaller, which is true in every sphere and which creates additional difficulties. The political leadership--the government--has to wrestle with various problems which require urgent solutions. At the same time, the very conditions of action--the status of power--are much more difficult than before.

[Answer] Certainly. In my most recent speech to the Solidarity delegation I said that our activities or the evaluation of our activities are measured in days and not weeks or years. I think that the issue is just that. All those conditions you have listed are there, and this means that the position of government in Poland is certainly a new one. But the question is: Even if those special conditions disappear--these conditions restrict the freedom of action of the government rather than the area of action--which of those conditions should remain so that the government is subjected to constant control? What is it going to be? Smaller possibilities for action, that is, restrictions? Is that correct or not? [paragraph continues]

As for me, I regard that as correct. What am I most afraid of as I now watch power and participate in it? That it is extremely prone to evade the control of public opinion. Power has some internal forces that produce in it the tendency to make various decisions that ignore political organizations or communities which it represents and in whose name it does its work.

[Question] In other words, the familiar desire to possess a patent for infallibility....

[Answer] Certainly, and that desire results from psychological motives and, for example, from the obvious fact that when you are at the seat of power you receive information from all over the country and you think that you are better informed about everything than anyone else. You think you not only know everything better, but also--on the strength of information in your possession--that you certainly can do everything better than he who stands on the sidelines, looks at you and raises his finger to say: Wait a moment, this is wrong! In a word, that desire and conviction that I am right, that I am certainly right, are based not only on those age-old psychological motives that you can notice in the people who form the apparatus of power, but also on objective circumstances.

[Question] Yes, but the people are still alive who at one time--some quite recently--were at the highest posts. It was they who dictated and were infallible, but suddenly they became normal citizens and behaved quite differently. Why do their successors not draw the necessary conclusions from that? At times it is so that a person who was removed from power for a time again thinks he is infallible as soon as he is back in power.

[Answer] I think that the temptation to regard oneself as infallible is also determined by the intelligence of the politician, the person who is in the apparatus of power. What is most important is that that temptation depends on contacts with society. I know the politicians in our country who make extremely bold and principled speeches behind closed doors, but who have never visited a factory in the past several months. I have visited factories and I know that it is impossible to make any blustering speeches in them at all.

[Question] Such speeches sound false....

[Answer] Yes. The workers class wants people to speak in a very specific and simple language, and there is nothing you can do except conform.

I also think that the question you have put is connected with a certain concept of government. That concept has produced a view, an attitude that I am certainly right. How can that be undermined or overthrown? I have also asked myself how it is that the people, who have been in power and have departed, came back again.... [presumably references to Olszowski, Grabski]

[Question] One would have thought that they would have learned something....

[Answer] This is just hope, as practice has often demonstrated. I think that our way of government requires major changes, which, of course, cannot be achieved within a month or 6 months. We can certainly say that frequent contacts with the workers class, with society, are most important. Such frequent and informal contacts must be genuine, without any stage-management and all the artificial trappings we know so well. I think that without genuine contacts with the workers class no leader in Poland can today count on success in fulfilling his aims and ambitions.

[Question] Even if he manages to be in power for some time?

[Answer] He must lose in the end. At this point I would like to say something more. I continue to receive hundreds of various resolutions, which, in my conviction supported by my considerable journalistic experience, already represent a sample of general moods. But I have, say, a colleague who counts all those resolutions and says this, for example: I have counted 120 resolutions protesting against this or that decision, but there are several thousands of party organizations countrywide. [paragraph continues]

Why then make an issue of those resolutions? Why generalize when the resolutions represent just a negligible fraction of opinion? To which my response--perhaps I am wrong--is: On the basis of my experience I feel that the resolutions generate the mood of society and the mood of the party.

[Question] Perhaps that is a question of militancy. Often people who do not like certain things say nothing, and even more often people who like certain things say nothing either....

[Answer] I think that introducing mathematical factors into political evaluations--so many people are for and so many against--is extremely misleading....

[Question] After you had joined the government from POLITYKA, did you change your evaluation of Solidarity?

[Answer] No. I know what you have in mind. My most recent public speech--actually my next to most recent speech--on Solidarity was a criticism of government. Do you remember my POLITYKA article about respecting a partner? Well, at that time failure to respect a partner was to me the biggest error and the greatest weakness. Watching the work of the government at the time I saw that the attitude toward Solidarity was very positive but positive only in declarations. However, in practice the so-called deciders refused to see that Solidarity was a massive social movement, that without partnerlike relations with it nothing would be achieved and that any trick, or as Solidarity itself says, any attempt at "blandishment" would be of no use.

[Question] Have you given up that conviction?

[Answer] I wrote that article in a specific situation. Moreover, I can really see more clearly that within Solidarity--and that, after all, I regard as a quite natural phenomenon--there are also forces who do not want partnership. Thus I have not changed my attitude to Solidarity as a social movement, as a mass trade union movement or mass social movement or mass social movement; I continue to consider that it is impossible to battle a movement, or to push one's way through a movement numbering millions of adherents.

But on the other hand, one must not stop telling about what is actually taking place. All the opinions about me changing my attitude toward Solidarity I regard as simple insinuations, because it seems to me that I would qualify as a bad journalist, politician and person if I suddenly found that--one--it was impossible to reach an agreement with it and--two--that, for example, it had to be fought. I am a long way from that....

[Question] And, moreover, from making false compliments....

[Answer] Indeed, what for? Besides, after all those talks I had with Solidarity I felt internally compelled to tell what I told recently. Nobody told me to do that, because, moreover, nobody endorsed my intervention. That was my initiative, but I would have been at loggerheads with myself if I did not talk about phenomena disturbing me. Maybe some bystander would say that I overestimate, that I exaggerate negative phenomena; but that is something else, that is a matter of assessing somebody from outside....

[Question] Anyhow, nobody would deny that your speech was frank and straightforward, which is also an element of partnership...

[Answer] It is. For example, when my Solidarity partners have talks with me, they frequently do not speak to the point but make declarations. Moreover, those declarations as a rule run on about what has passed. They speak about the mistakes committed by my party. Lech Walesa even listed subsequent renewals. I listen to him and must suppress my impatience.

[Question] But that is simply truth...

[Answer] It is, but that truth is repeated to me at every meeting. Thus I suppress my impatience, because I can see the point, but I also know that declarations of that kind and reproaches do not advance any problem. However I proceed from the point: It cannot be helped, time must pass. Those are my partners. [paragraph continues]

They frequently regard me as a person living a completely different life. Do you know what Jurczyk said about me after that first meeting on Sunday? "At the beginning I had the impression he wanted to devour us." But I simply refused to beat about the bush. I said what I thought.

[Question] The times in which we are living in Poland are scarcely suitable for various tactical measures. Is it necessary to speak frankly about what is on one's mind?

[Answer] Exactly. I am aware that some people may hate me for my frankness or may even find that I have suddenly changed my opinions. A prominent author, particularly engaged on the side of Solidarity, said, in my opinion, a little hastily: Well, Rakowski must accept the fact that people are carrying Walesa on their shoulders, while he must use his legs to walk. That was a statement that did not reflect the essence of those problems or issues that I am wrestling with.

[Question] In my opinion, it reflected a certain situation in which demands and postulates are pinned on the government, and hopes on Solidarity. Criticism also applies, on the whole, to the government and the authorities in general.

[Answer] The opinion that the government is to be blamed for everything prevails even today. In my opinion, certainly, the government shoulders greater responsibility than anyone else. Even if authority looks for excuses for itself, in the final account it will always be the first to bear responsibility for the situation that has emerged, for the facts that have taken place. But, certainly, that assumption, theoretically correct, contradicts the idea of partnership.

You see, imagine you are in this building and suddenly you realize there is not even one single penny to increase wages for anyone. Yet the minister or somebody else has signed an obligation. For example, there is not a penny to buy someone additional drugs; those drugs are unavailable. Here you have further demands. Then you can see the entire matter of the government's responsibility, which is bigger than that of the other social groups, in a different light. What can you do? Do you see? You simply do not have anything.

[Question] Recently, I had a conversation in a workers circle where the matter was posed in the following way: The government may accept any demand; the person who accepted it is popular for some time, then the cabinet changes, but the problem remains to be settled. As a result, it is the workers class and society anyhow who will have to pay.

[Answer] Certainly. But, you know, these are the times of a great turning point, of deep conflicts in consciences and attitudes, times of adapting people and structures. At moments I am afraid that even if a team of sages now descended upon Polish soil, even they would be unable to cope with the situation. Besides, let me tell you that even if there is a touch of bitterness in my views on life and on what is going on in Poland, it stems from the fact that I am beginning to waver in my hopes that anything can be saved. I have an irresistible impression, conviction, that some uncontrolled forces are pushing us toward an abyss. I am an historian by education, and I know that there have been situations in which peoples rushed blindfolded toward a precipice. At times I am wondering: Have we not embarked on that path?

[Question] Poland's present situation requires us to meet a tremendous number of conditions simultaneously; however, are there no prospects?

[Answer] We have very heated talks, but there is a prospect. There is a chance for an agreement. For that reason I firmly stand on the position that a compromise is essential in every situation and in every sphere, and it is also essential now. It is attainable, provided that both sides, naturally, are willing to meet each other half way. What I want to say is that there is no chance for any policy in which extremes win the upper hand, regardless of which side. Meanwhile, the drama consists of individual events providing favorable conditions for consolidating extreme tendencies, extreme postures in our country. I am afraid those extremes are beginning to win the upper hand. If this is the case, there is no way out. In connection with this, the most important objective today is to restrict and to minimize extremes.

[Question] And, in addition, to appeal to commonsense....

[Answer] To commonsense and to the traditional center, to the traditional center of acting and thinking.

[Question] Do you not think that inherent in that force which Solidarity constitutes is a potential ability to lead the country out of the present situation?

[Answer] Certainly, but on the grounds of my experiences I would like to say that certain issues have already become ingrained. There is not much room left for activities that might bring that movement onto the platform of creative cooperation....

[Question] Yes, but let us have a look, for example, at the following issue. There has been a strike alert for several days. One can always see an enormous number of drunkards around, but now they somehow cannot be seen....

[Answer] I do agree, but cooperation with Solidarity also calls for overcoming psychological barriers which can be seen in many cells of the authority. Here I must again go back to the youthful vigor of that movement, to its extremes which intimidate various cells of decisionmakers and in practice arouse opposition. I would say that the main problem was and is that of patience and of minimizing even certain sallies in order to deprive them of the opportunity to feed, for example, on someone's fear or exaggerated agitation.

[Question] Are your Solidarity partners likable?

[Answer] Yes, certainly, although my likings vary. I prefer all those who show exactly that sound commonsense, who are not aggressive toward me....

[Question] Even if they are firm in the talks?

[Answer] I do not mind that. On the other hand, if they treat me very aggressively, then I am also aggressive. One of the participants in that delegation is constantly telling me that he is a Pole, and what he is saying suggests that he alone is a Pole, but not myself. I am somehow worse than he, some agent, devils would know whose; I am bringing into effect some sinister designs aimed at my people's oppression.

Then I think: But for goodness sake, I was born in this Polish land, too. I was born into a peasant's family. My father fought for some ideas in the same way my successor is fighting today on my father's holding. Why should I suddenly be the one who only is to be fought? Because the talks also contain such allusions. Certainly, I can see: I am now a representative of the authority. I represent a certain concept. But I expect from my partner in the talks the understanding that I do not intend to sell Poland piecemeal....

At that point I had to finish the conversation, because M. Rakowski left for the next round of the talks.

TU, BYDGOSZCZ COUNCILLORS' COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED

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["Joint Solidarnosc-Councillors Communique"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr (PAP)--In compliance with the joint government-Solidarnosc decision, the commune of March 19 issued by councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council [VPC] and the local Solidarnosc Interfactory Founding Committee was published in the official media here today.

The commune says that on March 19 the chairman of the voivodship People's Council Edward Berger closed the VPC session without complying with the earlier adopted agenda, which provided for:

The adoption of council's (?plans) of work for 1981,

The voivodes replies to interpellations,

The (?promotions).

Thus the pledge taken by the council's Presidium on March 5, 1981 to give the floor to representatives of (?Solidarnosc) Interfactory Funding Committee was not fulfilled and a majority of the councillors were not informed by the VPC Presidium about the earlier arrangement.

The representatives of Solidarnosc protested against the stance taken by Chairman Edward Berger. In the meantime the Presidium and part of the (?councillors) left the assembly room.

Head of the Interfactory Founding Committee of Solidarnosc Jan Rulewski told those who had stayed in the room and those who were on the point of leaving it about the earlier arrangement with the Presidium and said he considered the action inadmissible. While he was talking the microphones were switched off. 45 councillors stayed (?in the room). They stated the following position:

1. The councillors (?submitted) a written request to the council's Presidium to convene the second part of the session under extraordinary procedure in seven days' that at the [words indistinct].
2. Speeches by Solidarnosc representatives will be an integral part of the continued session.
3. All the representatives of Solidarnosc Interfactory Founding Committee present at the session of March 19 whose names had been put down on the roll will be invited to the second part of the session.

The Solidarnosc Interfactory Founding Committee adopted the following position on the proposals submitted by the councillors:

1. The Solidarnosc Interfactory Founding Committee approves of the councillors' position,
2. At the council's session, Solidarnosc will demand that the persons guilty of the conflict that developed at the 6th session be liable to severe consequences, including dismissal.

Solidarnosc protests against the unprecedented intervention of the police in the assembly room while a team of councillors and Solidarnosc representatives were working on the commune.

The joint commune was signed by 6 representatives of the councillors and 5 Solidarnosc representatives.

BYDGOSZCZ PEASANTS STILL OCCUPYING ZSL BUILDING

LD011654 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] The National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity has called off the strike alert throughout the country, except for the Bydgoszcz region. The peasants, who for several days now have been on strike at the headquarters of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, are waiting for a government commission to arrive. In accordance with the agreements reached during the last round of talks between a delegation of the KKP of Solidarity and the government commission, the commission should arrive in Bydgoszcz by 5 April.

In all probability, a joint meeting of the council of Bydgoszcz agricultural circles will be held in the city tomorrow, with the aim of setting up a single organization to which the circles are affiliated and with a new union statute to be adopted by members of agricultural organizations.

According to Roman Bartoszcze, chairman of the all-Polish strike committee of NSZZ Solidarity of individual farmers, the striking peasants demand, above all, that the farmers' trade union should be sanctioned both formally and legally. The union would exercise de facto control over, and extend patronage to agricultural circles. Naturally, a government commission with appropriate powers must be set up to resolve these matters.

We have received a communique from Bogdan Krolewski, the Bydgoszcz voivoda, in which he informs us that the question of registering the voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles will be dealt with after the talks between the government and individual farmers who are taking part in the protest action in the building of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship ZSL Committee.

SZTANDAR MŁODYCH DISPUTES KATOWICE TU DEMAND

AU311028 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 Mar 81 pp 1,5

[Jacek Bukowski commentary: "A Strange Demand"--capitalized passaged published in boldface]

[Text] SOLIDARITY MEMBERS BELONGING TO THE PZPR ARE CALLED UPON, IN REPLY TO THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO DEMAND TO ABSTAIN FROM STRIKES, TO LEAVE EITHER SOLIDARITY OR PZPR RANKS. THE IDEA OF SOLIDARITY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE DIVISION OF SOCIETY INTO FIRST AND SECOND CLASS CITIZENS, WHICH IS PLANNED AND PRACTICED BY THE PZPR. IT DOES NOT BEFIT SOLIDARITY MEMBERS TO SHARE THE PARTY LEADERSHIP'S VIEWS WHICH ARE RESOLUTELY HOSTILE TO THE FREEDOM ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE UNDER SOLIDARITY GUIDANCE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, ONLY WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PARTY OR OPPOSITION BY THE BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE USURPING DEMANDS OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO CAN SAVE SOLIDARITY MEMBERS FROM THE DUPLICITY OF POSTURES, OR MORAL HYPOCRISY.

"ONE MUST NOT SERVE TWO MASTERS, BECAUSE IN DOING SO ONE HATES ONE AND LOVES THE OTHER, OR ONE SIDES WITH THE ONE AND SCORNS THE OTHER...."

[signed] THE INTERFACTORY STRIKE COMMITTEE [MKS] OF THE INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNIONS SOLIDARITY--KATOWICE

The quoted statement by the Katowice MKS of the NSZZ Solidarity is an obvious response to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo's appeal, which found it necessary to oppose the possible provocations and immediately after stated that the "announced strikes have in the existing situation a clearly political character. Party members have the duty to resolutely oppose that kind of strike and not participate in them."

Many party members have been confronted with a difficult decision, and we hope only potentially confronted with a decision--because there is still the hope, although filled with drama, that we will succeed in averting the growing conflict. As if the appeal to feelings of party duty on one side were not enough, the statement by the Katowice Solidarity dots the "i." It dots the "i" resolutely and point-blank, because that is the tone of the recent statements, declarations and resolutions. THE ONLY QUESTION IS, DOES IT DOT THE "i" WITH A FULL FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY AND PRUDENCE, WITHOUT OVERSTRAINING THE CORD THAT HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY STRAINED ONE WAY OR THE OTHER ANYHOW? DOES IT NOT ENFORCE A MECHANISM DIVIDING SOCIETY?

No one alleges any longer that we are strong in our political and moral unity. Today we are weak, because we are divided or being induced to divide. ARE WE REALLY AWARE EXACTLY WHERE THE DIVIDING LINE IS? But let us have a look at our society: That line actually does not divide society into party members and nonparty members, into Solidarity members and members of other trade unions, into believers and nonbelievers. No, that is not the way society is divided. THE DIVIDING LINE IS DIFFERENT. IT DIVIDES US INTO THOSE BACKING THE RENEWAL AND TAKING AN ACTIVE PART IN IT, AND THOSE WHOSE WINGS THE RENEWAL HAS CLIPPED--NOT EAGLE'S, BUT VULTURE'S WINGS--AND THOSE WHO WOULD GLADLY HAMPER THE RENEWAL PROCESSES AND REVERSE THE PRESENT SOCIALIST EVOLUTION IN OUR SOCIETY AND NATION.

Someone will remark: Well, all of us are for the renewal. Where are those who are against it? Some know where they are, others do not know, and still others do not even suspect their existence.

While commenting on the growing tensions in Poland, a French daily wrote recently: "ALTHOUGH IT IS OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE TO RULE OUT THAT THE POINT IN QUESTION HERE IS A DANGEROUS GAMBLE BY CERTAIN FORCES HOSTILE TO SOCIALIST RENEWAL, ON THE OTHER HAND ONE MUST NOT HAVE ANY DOUBTS THAT SUCH FORCES ALSO EXIST WITHIN SOLIDARITY. SOME POLITICAL GROUPS ACTING OUTSIDE THE TRADE UNION," THE DAILY CONTINUES, "ARE NOT INTERESTED IN THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE EXPERIMENT STARTED BY GENERAL JARUZELSKI. WHY? IN PROVING THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACT QUICKLY AND TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD REFORMS, TOWARD INCREASED EFFICIENCY AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY, THE NEW GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATES THE POSITION OF THE AUTHORITIES AND SOCIALISM. IN CONDUCTING A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH SOCIETY, INCLUDING THE ADVERSARIES OF SOCIALISM, THE PARTY SHOWS THAT IT HAS CHOSEN THE MOST DIFFICULT WAY, BUT ALSO THE MOST PROMISING ONE IN THE LONG RUN, BECAUSE THE POINT ALSO IS TO OBTAIN CONSCIOUS APPROBATION ON THE PART OF THE PARTY."

Those ideas, apparently remote from the substance of the statement cited, I put down for only one reason: TO MAKE US AWARE THAT IT IS NOT AN ORGANIZATIONAL OR TRADE UNION AFFILIATION THAT DETERMINES IF ONE IS IN FAVOR OF PUTTING POLAND ON ITS LEGS AND OF STOPPING IT ON THE WAY TO A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DOWNFALL, IN FAVOR OF TURNING DEMOCRACY, TO WHICH WE ASPIRE TODAY, INTO A POLISH DEMOCRACY. WHAT DETERMINES THAT IS THE MAN'S POSTURE, HIS FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DESTINIES OF THE COUNTRY, HIS PATRIOTISM IRRESPECTIVE OF AFFILIATION IN SOLIDARITY, IN THE PARTY OR IN BOTH OF THEM. EVENTUALLY EVERY INDIVIDUAL'S CONSCIENCE DETERMINES EVERYTHING HAPPENING IN POLAND.

The demand put forward by the Katowice Solidarity is unacceptable, not only because it goes against the statutes of the NSZZ Solidarity. It is unacceptable because it makes support for renewal--a certain effort to free the country from the crisis-like trap--makes the feeling of responsibility and patriotism dependent on organizational affiliation, thus interpreting those values in one's own way, in accordance with one's own, but not nationwide, criteria.

These remarks, written straight after reading the quoted statement, end with a dictum which was given by Lech Walesa in autumn last year and which I have now dug out: "DO YOU THINK I AM AGAINST THE PARTY? WELL, BOGDAN LIS, MY CLOSEST FRIEND IN THE INTERFACTORY FOUNDING COMMITTEE, IS A PZPR MEMBER: IF SOMEONE ORDERED BOGDAN TO LEAVE SOLIDARITY, BOTH OF US WOULD LEAVE, HE AND I...." Ill-disposed persons must not interpret that quotation as a demagogic trick. We must be aware that it would be bad for Solidarity if it had to do without both nonparty member Walesa and party member Lis.

SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING

LD312306 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Summary] Warsaw, 31 Mar (PAP)--"The congress commission of the extraordinary third congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, which is to take place on 23 April 1981, held a meeting in Warsaw recently." The congress commission dealt with the proposals for changes in the statute of the union and with the draft of the program of the union's activities. "This is connected with the development of the social and political situation in the country and the polarization of the views of youth (? on) the character of the organization as well as with the large number of proposals put forward by the youth in recent months. Attention should be drawn to the open, broad character of pre-congress discussion which is remarkable for the criticisms and self-criticisms which were voiced in local, factory and voivodship organizations of the union. Emphasis was laid in the discussion on the need for raising the importance and increasing the independence of the local organizations of the union and attention is drawn to the need for a more resolute action aimed at the recovery of the prestige of the organization among the working youth. It was pointed out that it is necessary to improve the educative role of the union and to intensify the struggle for its ideological unity."

"Noteworthy is the genuine renewal of the content and form of the activities of the councils of the union in charge of the affairs of working, rural and student youth. Owing to the action of the councils the proposals included in the material and documents prepared for the third congress are much more comprehensive and the forms of the work of the organization correspond better to the needs of the various groups of youth."

YOUTH UNION ELECTION CONFERENCE CONDEMNS PLENUM

LD011434 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] [No dateline received] The third municipal report-back and electoral conference of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth stated its support for the continuance of its politico-ideological character. The conference passed a resolution stating that the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee has done absolutely nothing to meet the expectations of every decent Pole.

PZPR PLENUM DECISION ON BRATKOWSKI LETTER CRITICIZED

LD011444 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] [No dateline received] Resolutions continue to arrive at the editorial offices of Gdansk newspapers, radio and television stations from party organizations in various circles, expressing their members' position regarding the results of the ninth plenum. The opinions--most of them critical--concern equally the problems discussed at the plenum and the resolutions and decisions made. The decision to refer the case of Stefan Bratkowski to the Central Commission for Party Control is being criticized. Some resolutions propose that his letter be published in the press, stating in justification that the impossibility of such a solution forced the author to make his letter public by other available means.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MEET

LD012134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Tadeusz Fiszbach, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship party committee, today met with party activists from creative centers and art centers in the tricity. During the meeting, he assessed the current political and economic situation of the country and spoke of the tasks facing the voivodship party organization on the eve of the ninth congress.

In Kielce, Roman Ney, alternate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with activists from higher learning establishments, the Sietokrzyska Technical University and the higher teacher training college, as well as activists from branch institutes in technical and technological offices. The discussion dealt, among other things, with the tasks of party members in these establishments connected with science and technology.

The meeting of party activists in the Wloclawek nitrogen plant was attended by Edward Szymanski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the party voivodship committee. He presented the full text of the resolution which he read at the Central Committee plenum and explained the motives of his speech. He said the present situation in the country has called, and still calls, for the stressing of the unanimity of party authorities with regard to the political methods for the resolving of all conflicts. Those present accepted these explanations, expressing among other things, the view that the final resolution of the ninth plenum did not, however, reflect all voices originating from party organizations throughout the country.

PZPR Decisions Discussed

LD012106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Meetings of party organizations with the participation of representatives of the party leadership are taking place throughout the country. They are discussing the proceedings and decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

Among other things, the meeting welcomed with satisfaction the fact that the plenum decision instructed central and local party control commissions to accelerate the work on determining the political responsibility of party members who are guilty of infringing the norms of law and moral principles, so as to complete the process by the ninth congress and present its results at the congress forum.

PZPR OFFICIAL DISCUSSES INTRAPARTY DEMOCRACY

LD012319 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr (PAP)—A PUWP Central Committee official today told PAP that the decision to hold a partywide electoral campaign taken by the latest 9th plenary session of the Central Committee was prompted by the beneficial effects of the elections that have been held so far by 12 percent of the party organizations in Poland, under the 7th plenary session resolution which had left the decision to hold new elections with the party organizations themselves.

"The elections have been held according to democratic principles and have given a new lease of life to the activity, prestige and firmness of those organizations," said deputy head of the PUWP CC Organizational Department, Ryszard Lukasiewicz.

He elaborated that the amended electoral procedure adopted by the 9th plenum equips the PUWP members with the necessary rights to freely shape the mode of advancing candidacies and the personal composition of their authorities.

The procedure, in particular, provides for:

- Secret ballot in the elections for the party authorities of all levels, including the first secretaries;
- The principle of unlimited number of candidates for the authorities and the delegates;
- (?Special) composition of the electoral commission as to make it representative of all party milieus, primarily the most numerous ones;
- Limit the number of party functions for which a PUWP member can be elected to two;
- Limit the combining of party functions with other posts at the same executive level;
- More priority to workers.

Proposals coming in from the basic party units call for a new chapter entitled "Electoral Rules" to be incorporated in the statutes, said Comrade Lukasiewicz.

The proposed changes to the PUWP statute are designed further to broaden the rights and define more precisely the duties of party members. Emphasis is laid, above all, on the equality of rights and duties of PUWP members regardless of what functions they perform, said Comrade Lukasiewicz.

It is being proposed that the PUWP members be allowed to present views different from the majority standpoint regarding the party policy and resolutions, question opinions of party authorities and his own basic party organization. But defence of different viewpoints will not free the party member from complying with decisions democratically adopted by the majority, Lukasiewicz went on.

Basic party organizations, concerned (?for) the quality of the party membership, ask that criteria for admission to the party be raised. Over the recent years, we saw progressing deformation of the fundamental principle of democratic centralism. Centralism and central [word indistinct] were [word indistinct] and the result was bureaucratic centralism, said Lukasiewicz.

Restoring the equilibrium of the two components of the principle of democratic centralism involves democratic party elections, openness of intraparty life, collegial work of party links and leading authorities, right to criticism and the duty to be self-critical.

Emphasis is laid in proposals on strengthening the role of basic party organizations as factors called upon to co-author the PUWP programme and line of action. Strengthening of the rank of controlling institutions and a precise definition of the subservient role of the party apparatus to the (?elected) authorities and basic party organizations is also underlined in postulates. An editorial commission has passed the draft containing amendments and changes to the statute on to the Secretariat (?of) the congress organizing commission. Discussion on the statute continues and new proposals are expected to be offered. The shape on the statute will be still formed in the course of party discussion to be finally determined by the congress.

TRYBUNA LUDU: PZPR STARTING TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE

LD011545 Warsaw TRYBUNU LUDU in Polish 28-29 Mar 81 pp 1-2

["AP" article: "Voice of Party Organizations--No One Will Deputize for the Party in Renewal"]

[Text] In recent days, under this very headline--"Voice of Party Organizations"--we have reported, on the basis of reports by our correspondents, texts of resolutions and accounts of meetings as well as on the atmosphere prevailing in the primary party organizations. In fact, right from the beginning of the new phase of a dangerous political conflict which was a consequence of the Bydgoszcz events, the party has practically unanimously demanded that the Central Committee, that is, its highest authority apart from the party congress, be convened as soon as possible and its attitude. [as published]

Therefore, not for a long time has a Central Committee plenum been anticipated with such hope, anxiety and keen interest. The Friday warning strike and the successive rounds of talks between the government commission and the NSZZ Solidarity leadership, the obvious tension in all circles and regions throughout the country and increasing shortages in the supply of basic food products--all this has more than justified the party members' attitude.

For after all, the entire party and all its primary organizations have become fully aware--especially following the events witnessed in the past 6 months--that the country's fate is inseparably linked with the fate of the party, that a strong and internally coherent party with an unequivocal program is indispensable for Poland's socialist future, and that a huge and determining responsibility for the country and the nation rests on the party.

That voice of the party organizations which reverberates throughout the country clearly testifies to the self-awareness of the PZPR. We have no reason to conceal the fact that it has often been a bitter self-awareness, and that the party feels that the process of socialist renewal, which has been formulated and controlled by the party, has been proceeding too slowly, and that this has facilitated the action of those politically extremist or even adventurist groups and people who would like to radically change the course of events in Poland.

In order to ensure that the present crisis, during which the country's material capabilities and the community's psychological resistance have virtually been exhausted, is resolved in a socialist spirit, any solution can be planned and organized only by the entire party in complete accordance with the policy determined at the three latest Central Committee meetings and supported by voivodship, city and enterprise party organizations during preparations for the congress. For the working class and broad social strata will be able to trust only this kind of party.

Faced with the Friday strike, many, very many party organizations have to the end, to the last moment, tried to convince their fellow workers that such a strike will objectively be harmful to the country's fundamental interests and the task of renewal--we have published in our columns such resolutions and appeals. Once these efforts proved unsuccessful, party members joined their fellow workers.

We have received no single party document and no simple communications which did not demand law and order, equality, dialogue, a complete explanation of all sources of the tension created by Bydgoszcz, intransigence toward all those, whoever they may be, who were responsible for the buildup of this tension, and the ensuring of the prerequisites for peace in the country. All this represented yet another expression of support for a socialist renewal policy.

The primary party organizations' loss of direction and disorientation are now things of the past. The party is now alive--it has been hardened by experience, it is aware of its responsibilities and it is able to express its will. If there were--and undoubtedly there were and there are--forces in Poland and abroad which expected a different turn of events, they have been disappointed.

Whoever has listened attentively in recent days to the party's voice has been able to obtain an unequivocal answer to the question of what those people, who at some time in their lives, opted for a common path and common destiny, are seeking. Now what they do want is a party strong because of its principled inner unity; pure because of all its members' pure intentions and actions; democratic, well disciplined and able to talk openly with the community. People who want something else are of marginal importance, mere splinters.

Such a party, which would live up to its own expectations, must emerge from an extraordinary congress. However, the time preceding such a congress must not be wasted. Such a party is to be created from day to day, through a political struggle and work aimed at preventing an economic catastrophe and through discussions and the winning over of the Solidarity trade union movement and the democratization of various aspects of public life.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS PZPR OPPOSITION FACTIONS

AU011501 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 81 pp 5,6

[Zbigniew Siedlecki article: "Discussion Before the Ninth PZPR Congress--What the Party Is To Be"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE PARTY IS THE PEOPLE WHO FORM IT, WHICH IS A TOO SIMPLE AND BRIEF DEFINITION TO REGARD AS SUFFICIENT. IT HAS TO BE EXPANDED. AFTER ALL, THE SHAPE OF THE PARTY IS TO A GREAT EXTENT DETERMINED BY ITS HISTORY BECAUSE THE PARTY IS A HISTORICAL CREATION. IT IS ALSO DETERMINED BY ITS PROGRAM BECAUSE THE RESOLVE TO IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAM IS THE REASON FOR THE PARTY'S EXISTENCE. NOR CAN WE IGNORE IDEOLOGY, WHICH DETERMINES THE HIERARCHY OF VALUES, AND THE DOMESTIC CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WE WORK, CHANGING THEM IN KEEPING WITH OUR WISHES AND OPPORTUNITIES, AND THE EXTERNAL CONDITIONS, WHICH TIE US TO THE BASIC LINES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

We could go on and on, listing such features because such a complicated social manifestation like a 3 million strong political party is composed of a multitude of various elements. As we list those features, the structure of the party as a nonpersonal and autonomous creation that exists outside and above us and to which we are subordinated, grows higher and higher. Each party member feels that he is very small, very unimportant and, at the same time, not independent in relation to such a structure.

But that is not true. The structure does not exist except in our awareness, which means that it exists insofar as we accept it. It is true that we are shaped by history, but we look critically at history, rejecting some of its features and wishing to continue and develop other features. [paragraph continues]

We are determined by our program, but although many of its elements are rooted in the last century--because they were devised by the classic exponents of Marxism and by the ideologues of the Polish leftwing--it is still our program, one which continues to be developed by us in line with the increasing needs and aspirations of our class and our people. If we are for Marxism, then it is not because we want to be gloriously faithful to the classic teachings, which would be irrational to do, but because we need Marxism and because the Marxist analysis of social phenomena is an accurate analysis, one that ensures the effectiveness of the activity resulting from it.

Precisely Us

VUEWING THE PARTY AS A STRUCTURE TO WHICH WE ARE SUBORDINATED IS IN PRINCIPLE IN CONFLICT WITH PRECISELY MARXISM. SUCH A VIEW LEADS DIRECTLY TO IDEALISM AND EVEN TO ITS EXTREME, VULGARIZED FORM REPRESENTED BY VOLUNTARISM. IT PRODUCES FANATICS, WHOSE ACTIVITY IS DRIVEN NOT BY REASON BUT BY EMOTIONS. IT ALSO PRODUCES GLORIFICATION OF FANATICISM. IT TURNS OBEDIENCE INTO A VIRTUE, CHANGING THE SO-CALLED RANK-AND-FILE PARTY MEMBERS INTO BLIND DOERS. IT CREATES EXTENSIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR MANIPULATING THE PARTY MASSES BY PLACING WITHIN PARTY APPARATUSES THE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE CEASED TO REGARD THEMSELVES AS THE HOLDERS OF THE MASSES' MANDATES BUT HAVE SET UP THEMSELVES AS "LEADERSHIP" IN THE BUREAUCRATIC SENSE OF THE WORD.

Please forgive me that pathetic introduction, which is full of truisms, but I thought that it was necessary because we are living at a time when banal truths become suddenly mortally important. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR US TO REALIZE THAT WE ARE THE PARTY. PRECISELY US. THE PARTY IS PRECISELY ME AND MY COMRADE WHO OPERATES A MACHINE IN A NEARBY FACTORY, WHO WORKS AS A DRAFTSMAN IN A NEARBY DESIGN OFFICE, IN THE LABORATORY OF A SCIENTIFIC UNIT AND IN THE NEARBY OFFICE. WE ARE NOT LINKED BY ANY MYSTIC TIES, EXCEPT BY THE SAME IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVATION AND BY THE SAME AIMS. We have given an organizational shape to our community of aims only because such a shape makes unity of action possible. The shape of the party depends exclusively on us, including in the organizational sense.

From about the mid-fifties, that is, from the so-called thaw dating from Joseph Stalin's death, discussions continued within the PZPR on the need to struggle against bureaucracy within the party and to develop internal party democracy. They were strange discussions because there were no opponents in them: No one was against the demand to develop party internal democracy. Even those who secretly but effectively transformed the party into an institution that was being increasingly bureaucratized were full of democratic phraseology.

In the seventies it came about that even at the level of the basic party organization the opportunities for democratic elections of the executive committee were reduced to a very limited chance to extend the list of candidates dictated from above. The sessions of party apparatus bodies and even the meetings of basic party organizations, which were stage-managed in detail, were near to transforming themselves into glorified rituals. The kind of relations among Central Committee members was attested to in the best way by the manner in which some functionaries justified themselves at the fifth plenum: "We kept talking but we were not listened to," as if they were attached to the court of Louis XIV and were not members of a workers, Marxist party.

Opportunities to implement some demands for internal party democracy have appeared almost exclusively during periods of social tensions when the results of the bureaucratization of the party were becoming increasingly glaring. But even at such times the argument that the loosening of centralist discipline helps weaken action unity, which the party needs especially in crisis situations, has had a paralyzing effect. ONLY AUGUST 1980 PROVED HOW FALSE THAT ARGUMENT IS. IT WAS ONLY THEN THAT IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT THE BUREAUCRATIZED PARTY IS INCAPABLE OF FULFILLING ITS LEADING ROLE AND THAT IT IS DISARMED AND HELPLESS.

That was a shock for all of us, even for those functionaries who, being aware of the crisis in the mid-seventies and drawing lessons from the 1970 and 1956 events, have been able to save the party and the country from the worst: from using other than political methods to solve the acute social conflict. Party organizations have lost the initiative and thus their influence on the masses. Many of them have become passive, and even moods of capitulation have appeared.

THE FIRST TO SHAKE OFF THAT STATE HAVE BEEN THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN LARGE FACTORIES, ESPECIALLY IN THE PLACES IN WHICH THE MOST IMPORTANT 1980 EVENTS TOOK PLACE. It seems that the awareness that the worker masses use in criticizing the party, the slogans and arguments that the party organizations put forward in the discussions preceding the eighth party congress, has played the greatest role in overcoming the moods of passivity. IT IS TRUE THAT THE USE OF OUR OWN SLOGANS AGAINST OURSELVES HAS BEEN A SORRY SHOW, BUT IT HAS HELPED THE PARTY TO CREATE EXTENSIVE ROOM FOR ACTIVITY AMONG THE MASSES--FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

What had been taking place in the most militant party organizations was summed up at the sixth and seventh Central Committee plenums, which resolutely mapped out the policy of socialist renewal and asserted their firm resolve to implement the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. They also formulated the slogan of the party's consolidation on the strength of socialist renewal, a slogan most important for internal party life.

What Kind of Consolidation?

The implementation of that slogan is not easy. It is worthwhile paying attention to two of the manifestations that are hindering that implementation.

First, some party organizations, especially in those places in which very little occurred in the summer of 1980 and in which in the fall of 1980 local affairs were reasons for tension and conflicts, are unable to this day to leave behind a period of squaring accounts with the past and of personal disputes and old scores. They have got so entangled in those disputes that they have no time and energy left to do positive things. IT IS TRUE THAT THE SQUARING OF ACCOUNTS WITH THE PAST IS NECESSARY BECAUSE IT CLEARS UP THE FIELD OF ACTION, BUT IT BECOMES STERILE IF IT DOES NOT PRODUCE THE ACTIVITIES WITH WHICH TO CORRECT PAST ERRORS. After all, what we want is not abstract justice, but conclusions affecting the present and the future. One gets the impression that many comrades have forgotten that what is wanted is the consolidation and strengthening of the party. But holding forth and contemplating the past will strengthen nothing. Consolidation can be achieved only by action and militancy and by nothing else.

SECOND, MANY FUNCTIONARIES COULD HEAR QUITE DISTINCTLY "CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY," BUT DID NOT HEAR THE SECOND PART OF THE SLOGAN: "ON THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL." TO THEM CONSOLIDATION IS TANTAMOUNT TO "CLOSING THE RANKS" IN THE OLD STYLE, TO INTENSIFYING CENTRALIST DISCIPLINE, TO MANIPULATING THE PARTY MASSES THROUGH STAGE-MANAGED ACTIVITIES AND, SIMPLY, TO RETURNING TO WHAT WAS. That is why it was necessary to remind them at the eighth plenum that there was no retreat from renewal.

Today it would be difficult to find a functionary who would verbally deny the need for renewal in the same way as, in the past, the need for developing internal party democracy. However, what are important are deeds and practical activities and not words. JUDGING BY PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES, THERE IS IN THE PARTY AN INFLUENTIAL, ALBEIT SMALL, OPPOSITION WHICH IN FACT HAS DENIED THE SECOND PART OF THE SLOGAN "CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY ON THE STRENGTH OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL." THAT OPPOSITION IS SUSTAINED BY THOSE WHO DEFEND THEIR POSITIONS IN THE PARTY--THEIR INFLUENCE, POSTS AND POWER--AND WHO KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT THEY CAN SURVIVE ONLY WITHIN A PARTY THAT APPLAUDS AND OBEDIENLY IMPLEMENTS THE DIRECTIVES FROM ABOVE. THEY KNOW THAT THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS WILL SWEEP THEM INTO THE PERIPHERY OF PARTY LIFE.

At this point I feel compelled to digress and to abandon for a while a strictly internal party subject, because the results of that opposition's activities are very far-reaching. [paragraph continues]

As is usual in history, this time, too, the extremists are responding to and meeting with one another. Concealed opponents of socialism, demagogically abusing the slogans of political freedom and patriotism, are trying to provoke tension and conflicts in order to bring about destabilization and, in consequence, to transform Poland into the weakest element of the socialist community and weaken the cohesion of this community. OPPOSITIONISTS AGAINST THE RENEWAL OF THE PARTY AND ALL POLISH LIFE ARE ALSO TRYING TO PROVOKE TENSION AND CONFLICTS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A STATE IN WHICH--ACCORDING TO THEIR MACHIAVELLIAN AND YET NAIVE CALCULATIONS--THE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS WILL CEASE TO BE SUFFICIENT AND IN WHICH IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO USE FORCE TO PREVENT COMPLETE DESTABILIZATION AND TO RESTORE WHAT WAS.

It seemed that, helping to strengthen the alliance of the forces of patriotism and common-sense, the government changes after the eighth plenum would clearly reduce the opportunities of extreme wings to influence the situation in Poland. But, as the Bydgoszcz events have proven, in view of the prospects of 90 peaceful days and normalization of life, the extremists are undertaking all the more severe attacks and provocations.

After that digression, let us go back to the sixth plenum which, in line with the postulates raised generally, resolved to convene the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. LET US NOTE THE UNPRECEDENTED AND ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF PREPARATIONS FOR THAT CONGRESS. The period of pre-congress discussions used to be opened by the publication of theses endorsed by a Central Committee plenum.

AN INNOVATIVE CONCEPT OF PREPARATIONS

This time preparations are to be held in two stages. The objective of the first stage is to draft the theses. The Congress Commission is expected not so much to draft them as to coordinate the work on them and to edit them, while appropriate proposals are expected to be made by numerous and various teams, either formed specially to work on specific problems (for example, numerous teams of economists drafting theses for economic reform), or set up spontaneously under party organizations or echelons, under public organizations, or wherever there is a group of people concerned with the renewal of the party and of Polish public life. The adoption of the theses at a Central Committee plenum is expected to open the second stage, that of a broad--not only party, but nationwide--pre-congress discussion.

THAT CONCEPT HAS PROVEN TO BE VERY FRUITFUL. IT HAS BROUGHT AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF IDEAS, PROPOSALS AND SOLUTIONS: IT HAS RESULTED IN A GREAT INTELLECTUAL INVIGORATION IN ALL GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THE FIRST STAGE OF PREPARATIONS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC CIRCLES AND IN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AT LARGE ENTERPRISES, IN HIGHER PARTY SCHOOLS AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS. CONGRESS COMMISSIONS WITH VARIOUS SUBJECT TEAMS HAVE BEEN FORMED UNDER MANY VOIVODSHIP PZPR COMMITTEES. THE IDEA OF USING IN CONGRESS PREPARATIONS WHAT COMRADE STANISLAW KANIA TERMED "THE PARTY'S COLLECTIVE WISDOM" HAS PROVEN TO BE VERY APPROPRIATE. BUT...

In line with the decisions of the recent session of the Congress Commission, in the time before the first stage is completed, the two planned Central Committee plenary sessions will have to be held, since only the second of them is expected to adopt the draft theses for the pre-congress discussion. We will not be able to squeeze the second stage, that is the pre-congress discussion proper, into a very narrow time margin. It will take time. Thus the date of the congress will have to be postponed at least to the middle of 1981.

Is that postponement caused by the slow work of the Congress Commission? Notwithstanding the significant differences of opinions within the commission, the theses have already been drafted at least in two versions. However, the coordination of those two versions with congress commissions spontaneously formed under some voivodship committees has manifested the need for further significant editing efforts.

IT SEEMS THAT THE CONGRESS COMMISSION (SOME PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZATION GROUPS PRESENTED OBJECTIONS TO ITS COMPOSITION AND TO THE WAY IT HAD BEEN FORMED) HAS THUS FAR BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE SATISFACTORY USE OF THE EXPERIENCES, IDEAS, PROPOSALS AND POSTULATES SUPPLIED BY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, OR OF THAT COLLECTIVE PARTY WISDOM.

That is not easy. Since local congress commissions have been forming in a spontaneous manner, some of their proposals and suggestions happen to be immature, with a touch of naive radicalism and equally naive faith in the efficiency of institutional guarantees for preserving internal party democracy. BUT ON THE WHOLE, THOSE PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS DO REFLECT COLLECTIVE PARTY WISDOM; THEY REFLECT THE CONVICTION THAT THE PARTY IS THE PEOPLE WHO FORM IT AND WHO HAVE THE RIGHT TO GIVE THE PARTY THE ORGANIZATIONAL SHAPE WHICH, IN THEIR OPINION, PROVIDES CONDITIONS FOR EFFICIENT ACTIVITY, FOR THE EFFICIENT PERFORMANCE OF THE LEADING FUNCTION IN THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. EVEN IF--WHAT I ASSUME--VARIOUS NAIVE IDEAS AND NOT QUITE MATURE FORMULATIONS SNEAK INTO THE NEW PARTY STATUTES, THEY WILL BE A LESSER EVIL THAN THE FAILURE TO MAKE FULL USE OF THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM.

I agree with the opinion that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--the first extraordinary congress in our party's history to be held and undoubtedly the second most important after the unifying congress--must be well prepared. It would be a big mistake to accelerate the date of it, as some party organizations demand, irrespective of the state of preparations. BUT ONE CAN BE AFRAID THAT, IF THE CONGRESS COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO RAPIDLY ABSORB THE RICH IDEAS OF THE MOST ACTIVE WORKERS AND INTELLECTUAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, THE PRESSURE FROM BELOW WILL MOUNT AND, UNDER THAT PRESSURE, THE CONGRESS COMMISSION WILL SIMPLY LOSE THE INITIATIVE.

Finally, let us go back to the irrational interpretation of the party as a mystical structure rising over the heads of all of us. One of the basic features of such a structure is the quality of being monolithic. In a monolithic party differing opinions, divergences and disputes are nonexistent. If under the pressure of factors there is the need to speak about them, then only in the past tense: about differences already overcome, about mistakes already corrected and about deviations already condemned. But in the party consolidating on the ground of socialist renewal, such taboos are, one--unobservable, two--contradictory to the publicity of internal party life, and three--harmful, since the price to be paid for each attempt to keep controversies secret is higher than it is worth.

ONLY BY PUBLICIZING AND OVERCOMING DIFFERENCES CAN WE GUARANTEE THE INTERNAL PARTY DISCIPLINE AND UNITY OF ACTION THAT IS SO NECESSARY TODAY. Obviously, what I mean is overcoming differences not by means of witch-hunting, not by stifling differing opinions, but by open discussion respecting and even minutely observing all the rules of internal party democracy.

COMMENTARY STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF NONPARTY MEMBERS

LD010946 Warsaw PAP in English 0827 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr (PAP)--"The PUWP has over 3 million members. There are over 36 million Poles," wrote INTERPRESS commentator Lech Winiarski. The Polish journalist went on to point out, however, that non-party members not always had the occasion to feel equal citizens nor enjoyed the same chances in getting a managerial job as someone with a red membership card.

"Political renewal means a basic change in this field as well," said Lech Winiarski.

The author pointed out that there was a tendency in the past decade to "eliminate non-party people from managerial posts as people who are not bound by the PUWP statute and therefore more independent in their opinions about superiors and their principals."

Winiarski continued: "The present party leadership is clear in rejecting this way of thinking." He quoted Stanislaw Kania's statement during the 7th PUWP Central Committee Plenum: "Non-party patriots standing on the ground of socialism make up most of the population, and include specialists in many fields. We should strive to use to the utmost the entire potential of our nation's talents for managing. Unjustified limitations in this field considerably narrowed down the use of abilities, gave rise to frustration and tension."

The INTERPRESS commentator stressed that "the growth of importance of non-party members in national life does not arise out of a 'good attitude' by the current leadership. It is the result of a changed class structure within the nation."

L. Winiarski proposed to limit the number of posts whose staffing is decided by party bodies and recognized as right the principle that all economic, production, scientific and other managerial posts of this kind should be staffed according to professional merits, abilities and honesty. He added that "there is every reason to let confidence in non-party members open them the doors to educational and propaganda institutions, to administrative bodies and organs of authority. Poland's political leadership has already taken steps in this direction." In Winiarski's opinion, these trends prove that "the party is more and more precise in formulating the principles of its dual role as a leading political force and a servant of the nation. There is an organic unity between these two party features. The awareness of this unity is the supreme duty not only on the central level but also in each party committee, in every basic party organization, every party group."

SEJM SESSION SCHEDULED FOR 6 APRIL ON SITUATION

LD011802 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene a session of the house on Monday, 6 April. The agenda provides for a report by the chairman of the Council of Ministers about the current situation in the country.

PREPARATIONS MADE FOR MEAT RATIONING BY SPOLEM

LD312016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Today, on the eve of the introduction of ration cards for meat and meat products, Deputy Chairman of "Spolem" [Central Union of Consumer's Cooperatives] (Czeslaw Burchart) has informed journalists of the preparations being made by this trade organization for the regulated sale of meat and its products.

The point above all is to assess the chances of fulfilling customers' hopes regarding not only a fairer division but also more efficient service and the elimination of queues. Despite the efforts made by the trade, they are--it seems--not great. The first reason is the structure of the network. The 4,500 selected "Spolem" shops would be sufficient, were it not for the disproportion in the location of the shops. There are gaps, particularly in smaller centers and on new housing estates. At this moment, limits are already in force on registration, geared to the technical capabilities of the shops.

The next problem is the assortment of meat and its products. The trade wants to encourage the customer to cooperate, so that the dates for collecting ration card meat would be decided by them in conjunction with the shop manager. The third issue is a technical one, connected with sales. A mere 10-15 percent of meat and smoked meats arrives in the shops from industry in portioned form; unfortunately, the basic tool of the trade remains the knife. Conflicts may arise over every one or two deagram too little weighed out. Shop assistants are supposed to solve this problem by compensating for the excess weight in one type of meat by underweighing another.

Taken as a whole, the system of introducing ration cards must be accompanied by less optimism than at the beginning of the year--optimism that it would eliminate the laboriousness of shopping which has existed up to now.

More on Rationing

LD011408 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Beginning today we get meat through coupons. The big distinction between those with entitlement and between the ranges of goods promises to produce lots of problems in meat sales. Five thousand centers will conduct regulated meat sales throughout the country as a whole.

The meat industry transportation enterprises in Lukow have put 20 refrigerator vehicles with trailers, with a total transportation capacity of 80 tons, at the disposal of the maritime fishing industry.

DOBROSIELSKI RECEIVES ECUMENICAL COUNCIL DELEGATES

LD011810 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Dobrosielski today received representatives of the Polish Ecumenical Council: Bishop Janusz Narzynski, Professor Dr Waldemar Gastpary and Editor Andrzej Wojtowicz.

During the meeting many problems pertaining to current international problems, including in particular relations between Poland and the FRG, were discussed.

GOVERNMENT-EPISCOPATE JOINT COMMISSION MEETS

LD011910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] A joint commission of government and episcopate representatives has held a session in Warsaw. This was the fifth plenary session of the commission. It examined the situation in the country since the last session, held on 2 March.

Profound concern was expressed concerning the state of the nation [byt panstwowy] and concerning a further, correct development of the renewal of social, political and economic life and further democratization.

It was recognized that the only correct way in which the (?tensions) and conflicts that arise can be resolved is through a dialogue that leads to political solutions, a dialogue consistently enshrined in a legal form.

Sources of tensions should be eliminated in time. Various kinds of actions that are alien to the interests of society and working people should be prevented.

Everyone must be aware that responsibility is borne equally by the authorities, the public and by equal citizens. The good of the republic is the supreme good. It is the moral duty of every citizen to protect it.

Government representatives have conveyed their appreciation and gratitude for the actions undertaken by the holy father, John Paul II, the primate of Poland and the episcopate in order that a peaceful solution to the social conflict may be found.

The commission has examined issues connected with the unencumbered activity of clerical institutes and other forms of church life in accordance with the principles defined in constitutions approved by the church authorities.

Preliminary guidelines for the state and church authorities concerning the construction of sacred buildings and churches and the way in which building materials will be supplied for these purposes have been examined. The question of creating cemeteries was also discussed. Problems connected with the size of church buildings and grounds were raised. The commission heard a report concerning the work of certain working teams and the extent to which topics forwarded to these teams earlier have been implemented.

Information was heard about problems connected with Catholic educational establishments and papal faculties [fakultety papieskie]. Relevant proposals will be forwarded to a team working on the provisions of the higher education bill. Views on upbringing and the all-round development of young people were exchanged.

The next meeting of the commission will take place in early May.

ZSL MEETING DISCUSSES 'COMPLEX' RURAL SITUATION

LD012348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] A conference of presidents, vice presidents and secretaries of ZSL voivodship committees, with the participation of the Presidium and Secretariat of the ZSL Supreme Committee, chaired by Stanislaw Gucwa, was held at the ZSL Supreme Committee today. There was discussion of the ZSL's tasks in face of the current, complex sociopolitical situation in the countryside and the economic situation of agriculture.

NATIONAL UNITY FRONT ON MONTH OF REMEMBRANCE

LD011812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] The Presidium of the All-Polish Committee of the Front of National Unity [OKIJN] has adopted a decision concerning the celebration of the month of national remembrance and the more important anniversaries falling in April and May this year.

The decision reads in part: In these difficult times shared by all Poles, at a time of searching for ways out of the crisis which would ensure socialist renewal for our homeland, the Presidium of the OKFJN deems it imperative to draw public attention to the lessons ensuing from national history, to the historic sources of the unity and identity of the nation.

The events of the month of national remembrance and other important anniversaries connected with recent history encourage us to historic reflection. This applies in particular to the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of the third Silesian uprising and the 190th anniversary of the adoption of the 3 May Constitution.

Concern for Poland, the command for patriotic service and civic duties, constitute a common value emerging from these anniversaries. We have based our national existence and our development on the social ideals and system of socialism, on lasting alliances with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community--a sovereign Polish state with just borders.

We bow our heads in contemplation during the month of national remembrance, with thoughts of recent times and distant ones, which make our history. Let us take advantage of the lessons flowing from that history for contemporary generations, concern for today and our future. Let us endow this year's celebration of the month of national remembrance and the anniversaries falling in April and May with values which unite all the patriotic forces of the nation in the socialist renewal of the republic.

The Presidium of the OKFJN has also passed a decision on the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Gen Wladyslaw Sikorski, falling on 20 May this year. Among other things, it has been decided to set up an all-Poland committee for the commemoration of that anniversary under the chairmanship of Professor Henryk Jablonski and to return the ashes of the general to the homeland.

POZNAN POLICE OFFICER JAILED FOR ASSAULT

LD012206 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr (PAP)-- A district court in the city of Poznan, western Poland, sentenced today Militia Sergeant Krzysztof G. to 18 months in prison for beating up four people at a police station.

Law enforcement investigators found out the police functionary [word indistinct] had beaten last year a 40-year-old woman. The defendant underwent psychiatric tests which proved he was fully responsible for his deeds. Krzysztof G. was fired from the people's militia force last September.

LEGNICA COUNCIL DISCUSSES SOCIOECONOMIC PLANS

LD010850 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Excerpts] The seventh ordinary session of the Voivodship People's Council was held in Legnica today. The main topic was approval of the socioeconomic development plan and the budget of the voivodship for 1981. It is expected that revenue and expenditure in this year's voivodship budget will be 23,869,353,000. The value of the voivodship's industrial production, with the exception of the copper combine, will be 1.7 percent lower than last year. Export production will be 2400 million lower. Construction plans will be 12 percent lower than last year. As a result, employment in construction will decline and workers will have to be transferred to agriculture and the services.

The average size of individual farms in the voivodship--which is 5.3 hectares--does not guarantee the achievement of a high marketable yield. Therefore, one of the main tasks will be to increase the size of individual farms. This year, 2,590 hectares of land will be allocated for sale to individual farmers.

MEESE NOTES 'DROP IN TENSION,' ADDS WARNING

LD011204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Edwin Meese, political adviser to the U.S. President, has been answering questions on television concerning the functioning of the White House and administration apparatus during the crisis caused by the attempt on the life of Ronald Reagan. He also spoke about foreign policy matters. Meese stated that Washington was pleased to note the drop in tension in Poland and added that any moves which might point to an intention to solve the existing crisis with force would put a question mark over the possibility of economic aid to Poland.

PZPR REPORT ON 26TH CPSU CONGRESS PUBLISHED

LD311844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Before we go over to the foreign news, we report that PAP today published a report by the PZPR delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress. The report sets out the main trends of the discussion at the congress of the Soviet communists. It discusses the decisions concerning the internal policy of the land of the Soviets, as well as foreign policy principles; the principles of cooperation with the fraternal parties and directions of ideological work. In the report we read, in part, that the assessment of the situation in Poland, which we presented at the congress, and of the measures taken by the party, the government and all patriots and forces of commonsense, met with understandable interest on the part of delegates and foreign guests. We returned from the congress with a strengthened conviction that our party had chosen the correct way to resolve the crisis, and that we could count on help and support from our reliable friends. This is for us an exceptionally valuable fund of trust and support. We must not squander this fund. The full text of the report will be carried in tomorrow's press.

JAGIELSKI VISIT TO FRANCE, TALKS REPORTED

Meeting With D'Estaing

LD311834 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, who is on a working visit to France, was received in the Elysee Palace by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The president showed interest in the present situation in Poland, expressing the interested attitude of the people of France toward the affairs of Poland. The main subjects of the talks were economic issues connected with Poland's situation and the development of trade exchanges in the future.

The Polish side showed interest mainly in the purchase of grain and raw materials for the farm produce and foodstuffs industry. The talks dealt also with the purchase of other raw and semifinished materials necessary for the functioning of industrial enterprises and particularly those producing basic commodities and goods for export or earning the funds necessary to make payments under foreign trade agreements and to buy raw materials.

The talks also concerned cooperation in the financial sphere. On all those issues the French president showed full understanding for our country's problems and conveyed expressions of friendship for Poland and the Polish people. The French side presented an unambiguously favorable position toward the Polish standpoints and expressed its willingness to go some way to meet them. In this context Valery Giscard d'Estaing emphasized France's interest in internal order and stabilization in Poland.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski described the talks as useful, stressing that they prove that France has remained, as ever, a friend of Poland.

Communique on Talks

LD012140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski has ended his visit to France. He left for Washington today. A communique published today after a meeting of the French Government reports on the talks between President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski. The president emphasized that France is following the course of the renewal process in Poland attentively and sympathetically. The communique announces that cooperation with Poland will be continued, so that our difficulties may be overcome and our economy be put in order. The French Council of Ministers has also approved a decision to export 4 million quintals of grain to Poland in the nearest future.

More on Communique

LD020918 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Paris, 1 Apr (PAP)—An official communique issued at the end of the French Government meeting today says that President Valery Giscard d'Estaing informed all ministers of the talks he had had with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski during his visit to France. The president, says the communique, emphasized the attention and sympathy with which France was following the process of renewal in Poland. He informed the ministers that Deputy Premier Jagielski was convinced that the authorities and the Polish nation were capable of preserving the hitherto gains without outside intervention or domestic violence. The communique also announces continuation of French-Polish cooperation designed to help Poland overcome her difficulties and bring order to her economy.

With regard to food supplies, France will speed up deliveries of its share laid down in the EEC programme of cooperation with Poland, approved by the West European council. The government communique says that the Council of Ministers has approved the exports of 4 million quintals of grain to Poland at an early date.

Departure for Washington

LD011344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, after completing fruitful talks in Paris, left for Washington by air today. The subject of the Polish-American talks will be connected with economic cooperation.

Mieczyslaw Jagielski was received in Paris by French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The Polish deputy premier also conferred with Rene Monory, minister of the economy, and Michel Cointat, minister of foreign trade. This year, Poland has been granted credits totaling 4 billion francs. A decision has also been taken to send 400,000 tons of grain to our country.

Arrival in Washington

LD020904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski has arrived in Washington. He is paying a visit here at the invitation of Malcolm Bladrige, secretary of commerce, and cochairman of the Polish-American commission.

Welcoming the Polish deputy premier at the airport in Washington, Bladrige stated that the Polish-American talks to be held in the U.S. capital over the next 2 days would be held in a spirit of traditional friendship between the American and Polish nations.

Deputy Premier Jagielski expressed the conviction that his talks with leading representatives of the U.S. administration would be fruitful and businesslike. The talks will be held today and tomorrow. He will also visit the White House and have talks with Vice President Bush who is acting for the absent President Reagan. Jagielski will also meet with Secretary of State Haig at the State Department and have talks with representatives of various departments. The deputy premier will visit Congress and will meet with members of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both houses.

The visit is causing much interest in Washington. The American news media are covering the visit and commenting on it.

HUNGARIAN PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSES EVENTS

LD281414 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] An MSZMP Central Committee plenum has been held in Budapest. International matters and current issues pertaining to the country's political life were discussed.

The communique on the plenum deliberations contains an excerpt about the situation in Poland. The plenum stated, amongst other things, that the Hungarian people are following with unease the complicated and difficult situation that has arisen in Poland and which threatens the achievements of the Polish people and the socialist system. The MSZMP and the Hungarian people believe that communists and real Polish patriots have enough strength to rebuff the increasingly flagrant actions by hostile and anarchist forces and to ensure the restoration of order and development along the road of socialism.

NO GROWTH SEEN IN TRADE VOLUME WITH EAST GERMANY

LD011136 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 April (PAP)--The value of goods and services exchanged between Poland and the GDR during 1981 will amount of R1.6 billion under a protocol which was signed in Leipzig by Ryszard Karski and Horst Soelle, the foreign trade ministers of the two countries. This means that the scale of the economic cooperation between Poland and the GDR will remain at the same level as last year. A growth in trade during the current year is not possible because of the insufficient volume of Polish exports and a reduced demand in both countries for the import of goods and building services.

The protocol envisages deliveries to Poland of agricultural machinery and spare parts worth almost R80 million, potash, salts, plant protection agents and other goods. In exchange, the Polish side has pledged to continue deliveries of hard coal, sulphur and coking coal. Poland will supply the GDR with water treatment plants, metallurgical and steel-casting installations, wood- and metal-working machine tools, building and road-making machinery, electrical and engineering devices for communications, computer ware and integrated automation equipment, and vehicle manufacturing parts.

Much attention is being paid in Polish economic circles to the strengthening of economic cooperation with the GDR, especially industrial cooperation and coordination. The foreign trade minister, R. Karski, stressed this several times.

RESOLUTION ON EXCHANGE OF RCP MEMBER CARDS

AU020753 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 31 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 31 Mar (AGERPRES)--With regard to the way in which the action of changing the 1965-type party member cards was carried into effect, the document published in "SCINTEIA" of March 31 considers that the action was an important political event, occasioning the analysis of the communists' activity, strengthening party responsibility and developing their political consciousness and the revolutionary spirit of the entire party.

The plenary meeting considers that through the way in which it was conceived, organized and carried into effect, the changing of the party member cards bore on the strengthening of party power, of its cohesion and unity round the Central Committee, round Nicolae Ceausescu, on the political and ideological influence of the party bodies and organizations on the working people, irrespective of nationality, on the entire people.

The most significant result of this political and organizational action is--as the plenary meeting stressed--the increased competence of the party bodies and organizations, of all communists in running economic activity, the party's more intense activation in the struggle for fulfilling the tasks stipulated by the single national plan of socioeconomic development of Romania.

As a general remark one can note that each party organization drew valuable conclusions from this broad action for its own activity, new lessons for its own work style whose translation into fact contributed to raising the entire political and organizational work onto a superior stage.

As a direct consequence of the action of changing the party member cards, the internal life of the party organizations was given a strong impulse, fact proved by the consolidation of discipline and party principledness, by the development of the revolutionary spirit, by the ever more marked character of criticism and self-criticism, by the growing interest and resolve of each and every party member to exemplarily fulfil the tasks incumbent on him in production and in public activity.

Likewise, the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP highlights that the changing of the party member cards resulted in the broadening and enrichment of the political-educative activity, the propaganda means and forms making an ever greater contribution to the working people's appropriation of the materialist-dialectical conception about nature and society, to the establishment of the principles of socialist ethics and equity in everyday life. 2,900,091 communists from the total number of 2,936,093 party members included in the action of changing party member cards received the new party member cards, that is 99.72 per cent of the party members that had the 1965-type cards. 30,210 party members were not handed over the new party member cards, according to the decisions adopted in this respect by the party organizations they belonged to, and therefore they were excluded from among the party members. At the same time, several party members in whose activity shortcomings were manifest were sanctioned and were very seriously warned to immediately liquidate the drawbacks and to take advanced stands in production, in family, in the entire social life.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn from the action of changing the party member cards--the document reads--the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party approves the activity carried out by the Central Committee, by the local party bodies, by all the party organizations for changing the party member cards and considers that the entire action ended in good conditions and in time, contributing thus to the strengthening of the party, from a political-organizational point of view, to the enhancement of its leading role in all fields of socialist construction. It also sets measures for improving the work style and methods of the party organizations.

PRISTINA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTINUE PROTESTS

AU012135 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] In Pristina today, hostile elements again tried to disturb public order and peace, using Albanian nationalist and other hostile slogans. The sociopolitical organizations, organs of social self-protection and security have taken measures to prevent them from fulfilling this hostile intention.

Authorities Adopt Measures

LD020926 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee held a joint session in Pristina today to appraise the hostile demonstrations held yesterday in Pristina and Podujevo.

In connection with this appraisal, the Presidency and the Presidium formulated concrete plans of action and measures which should be taken in Pristina and the province to prevent further demonstrations and similar unrest.

Pristina LCY Official Comments

AU011342 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 81 p 3

[M. Antic report]

[Text] Pristina, 28 Mar--At its session today, the Presidium of the Pristina SAWP communal conference discussed the implementation of the Socialist Alliance's tasks on economic stabilization and on solving certain current socioeconomic problems in the commune.

In a broad discussion, the work of the SAWP organizations was analyzed and the further tasks of socialist forces gathered in the Socialist Alliance, on implementing the actions determined by programs, were adopted.

Participating in the discussion, Aslan Fazlija, president of the Pristina League of Communists organization, said that the tasks of economic stabilization were our basic and most responsible tasks, all the more so because the production plans and the planned savings in economic operations are not being implemented in certain organizations of associated labor. According to Fazlija, the communists and working people of the commune must overcome this problem with full responsibility. The implementation of tasks in production, and the increase in labor productivity and income are the basic tasks in economic stabilization. They are also the basic source for protection and a more stable increase in the standard of living of the working people, as well as a more rapid and effective solving of certain social problems we are facing.

Fazlija also spoke about specific measures that are being taken in the field of social policy, and measures for protecting the standard of living of workers and students.

Slogans Against Unity

Continuing his speech, Aslan Fazlija spoke about the attempts of the domestic and foreign enemy for a more intensive involvement to exploit on a wide front the current social and economic contradictions in our country, and also in Pristina. Within this context, Fazlija spoke more extensively about the demonstrations by a group of students in the student center on 11 and 26 March this year.

Aslan Fazlija described the demonstrations of a group of students on 26 March as hostile, organized and incited by hostile forces. He also described it as part of the enemy's overall tendencies aimed at destabilizing and destroying our country's unity, while using certain of our current economic and social difficulties, difficulties on whose successful solution the League of Communists and the workers class are intensively working.

According to Fazlija, the hostile character of these demonstrations is reflected not only in the form in which they were carried out, a form that is antiseif-managing and directed at disturbing the public order and peace, but primarily in the hostile slogans which the demonstrators used against our system and unity, and in the real goals of those forces that directly organized the demonstrations or supported them.

In their hostile activity, Aslan Fazlija continued, the organizers of the demonstrations tried with demagogic "social" and nationalist slogans, and also with other reckless means ranging from blackmail and deceit to threats, to mislead a large number of students so as to gather them for demonstrations. However, they did not succeed in this. Our students, Fazlija said, are aware of the fact that within a period of only 10 years, with the extraordinary efforts of our society--as result of the need for Kosovo's overall development and for enriching national equality--the university has developed, with such a number of faculties and students, that it now belongs among the three largest universities in the country, with lectures in the mother tongue of the students.

Otherwise, we are aware of the fact, Fazlija said, that because of such rapid development of the university, the students in Pristina have certain problems connected with the standard of living, but we are working on solving these problems.

For this reason we reject and will continue to reject every antiseif-managing kind of political pressure for solving problems and every antisocialist and hostile speculation and demagoguery with similar problems. The Pristina University students and young people in general, as well as the working people and citizens of this commune, not only did not respond to the demonstrators' call, but sharply condemned this hostile activity and its protagonists, demanding that strict and effective measures be taken against such hostile activities and their actors.

Malicious Speculation

This was also the way in which the demonstrations of 26 March were dealt with. This will always happen when the enemy tries to carry out similar activities. Due to the political activity of communists, teachers and students of the university, as well as the organs of protection and self-protection, the demonstrations were dispersed. On this occasion, 23 demonstrators and 12 members of the organs of protection were injured, none of them seriously. On 26 March, 21 of the arrested demonstrators were detained.

The speculation, Aslan Fazlija said, which appeared in this connection, particularly in certain information media abroad, about an alleged large number of participants, wounded and arrested in the demonstrations on 11 March are obvious and malicious; it is well known that no one was injured or arrested. Various rumors and false information of a similar nature are also circulating about the last demonstrations. This speculation, Fazlija said, will experience the fate of all disinformation about our reality.

Aslan Fazlija concluded his speech with the assessment that at this moment a greater level of mobilization of all socialist forces is necessary to implement the current tasks of economic stabilization and to strengthen and further develop the system of defense and social self-protection, as well as to further consolidate the brotherhood and unity of all peoples and nationalities, in the struggle against the Albanian, Serbian and every other nationalism and any other hostile tendency.

Slovene Official's Reaction

LD012320 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2143 GMT 1 Apr 81

["Pressure on Yugoslavia"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Slovenj Gradec, 1 Apr (TANJUG)--President of the League of Communists of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Slovenia Central Committee Franc Popit (?cautioned) here in Slovenj Gradec that in the complex international situation characterized by economic, political and military conflicts, hostile forces are trying to wage a psychological war against Yugoslavia. Their objective is to upset Yugoslavia's socialist self-management and autonomous (?development). Franc Popit stated the above at a session of the League of Communists of Slovenia municipal electoral-programme conference of Slovenia Gradec. Popit made special reference to the implementation of the economic stabilization programme in the country.

Franc Popit stressed that the attacks of a part of the foreign press on the Yugoslav political system, aimed at compromising it, should be viewed in this light. In this context, Popit made reference to the recent events in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and stressed that there were some outside attempts in Kosovo to take advantage of the irredentist tendencies of [words indistinct] (?nationality problem).

They wanted to weaken our internal cohesion, the foundations of the socialist self-management system and Yugoslavia's external independence. [Words indistinct] of the activity of the hostile forces, Popit said. We must be on the lookout in the milieux in order to nip in the bud all those who would like to sow the seed of distrust among the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and in socialist self-management relations in Yugoslav society, Popit stressed. The functioning of the system of self-protection, which is in the service of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and the non-aligned and autonomous policy of Yugoslavia, must be tested in all milieux, Popit said.

DJURANOVIC VISITS SLOVENIA, LEAVES FOR AUSTRIA

Slovenia Visit

LD011724 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Brdo, near Kranj, 1 Apr (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, visited the Socialist Republic of Slovenia today prior to his departure on his official visit to Austria.

In conversation with republican leaders, that is, Viktor Avbelu, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; Janez Zemljarić, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; Mitja Ribicic, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference; Vida Tomsic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; and others, he discussed the state and development of political, economic, cultural and other relations between the SFRY and the Republic of Austria, as well as relations between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Austria in the context of joint Yugoslav-Austrian relations.

Departure for Austria

LD020824 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0736 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, this morning left for Vienna to pay a 2-day official and friendly visit to neighboring Austria.

Sava Obradovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Nikola Cicanovic, foreign affairs adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council, left together with Djuranovic. Novak Pribicevic, SFRY ambassador to Austria, and Trajko Trajkovski, head of a department in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, will also take part in the official talks which are due to begin this morning.

MISSILE FRIGATE REPORTEDLY PURCHASED FROM USSR

LD011119 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 81 p 6

[Desmond Wettern report: "Belgrade Buys Flagships From Russia"]

[Text] Yugoslavia has bought a new missile frigate from Russia to be flagship of its fleet.

The frigate, the 2,300-ton Split, replaces a Yugoslav-built destroyer of the same name. It is a ship of the Koni class which appear to be intended primarily for export.

Another ship of the class was delivered to the Algerian Navy last December and others are in service with East European navies.

The Yugoslav decision to buy from Russia was apparently made a few weeks before President Tito's death early last May. It is the first time the Yugoslav have sought naval assistance from Moscow for 15 years.

The deal is particularly odd in the light of the completion last year of a frigate of comparable size for Iraq in the Yugoslav shipyard.

For some years the Yugoslavs have overhauled Russian ships at one of their principal shipyards. Similar facilities have also been offered to the American Sixth Fleet although the offer has not so far been taken up.

Moscow is now supplying increasing numbers of warships to Third World and client states.

The list includes three newly built missile destroyers for India, more submarines and missile boats for Cuba, a large amphibious ship for the South Yemen and missile boats for Libya.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ADOPTS ECONOMIC MEASURES

AU020831 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 81 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)--At its session today under the chairmanship of Veselin Djuranovic, the Federal Executive Council proposed or adopted several supplementary measures whose implementation should help establish more harmonious commodity-money relations, improve market supply, stimulate increases in exports of goods and services and further reduce spending to the limits of available funds.

The council examined proposals by respective federal organs to provide and use foreign exchange for importing raw materials and producer goods. It is envisaged that the self-managing interest communities for economic relations with foreign countries should determine, by special agreement, the conditions for the use of foreign exchange funds allocated and the purpose of their use. In the assessment of the Federal Executive Council, their use should ensure greater production, better domestic market supplies and higher exports.

Agreement of Association

For the purpose of further advancing economic relations with foreign countries and increasing exports, the council adopted a draft accord which envisages supplementary funds to be allocated for programs to credit exports of equipment and ships and capital construction works abroad, from 1981 to 1985. The draft was adopted as a basis for harmonizing the views of the republics and provinces. Supplementary funds would be provided through self-managing agreements of banks to pool funds with the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation, through the pooling of resources of the economy, through the use of short-term commercial credits and other sources. The credits for exports of equipment, ships and capital construction works abroad would thus be provided on lasting and stable foundations and the implementation of the tasks in the current social plan would be made possible.

Increased Participation

The council also adopted a decision amending the decree on the general conditions for granting consumer credits. The amendments lay down that the proportion of cash the buyer has to provide will be increased from 20 to 40 percent, except when credit is approved for buying children's clothing or footwear. The proportion of cash payment is increased from 40 to 50 percent in credits for buying refrigerators, freezers, water heaters, washing machines and clothes dryers, radio receivers (mono), television receivers (black and white), cast and tin bathtubs, mopeds, furniture and carpentry products.

In the future consumer credits will not be granted for buying leather- and reptile-skin products, hand-knotted carpets and hand-woven woolen rugs, all kinds of products made of silver (except filigree), decorative objects, campers and camping equipment, dishwashers, stereo record players, stereo radio receivers and other stereo equipment, color television receivers, tape recorders, automobiles and motor boats.

The council discussed and adopted a draft accord on the implementation of the revenue gathering policy on the basis of taxes and contributions, or the pooling of resources to finance general social and common needs in 1981, as a basis for cooperation with the republics and provinces. The first drafts of regulations for the working of a foreign exchange market, and a report on personal incomes in the associated labor organizations incurring losses, on regulating guaranteed personal incomes and on measures and activities undertaken to solve current problems in this field were also discussed.

FIFTH POSTWAR CENSUS BEGINS; TO LAST TILL 15 APRIL

AU011117 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Today, the fifth postwar census of the population, households and housing began. This will make it possible to obtain a complete statistical picture of Yugoslavia. The census will last until 15 April and will be carried out by some 150,000 census takers.

COURT PRESIDENT DEFINES 'CRIMINAL VERBAL OFFENSE'

AU020800 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1578 29 Mar 81 pp 22-24

[Jug Grizelj report on the interview granted to NIN by Prof Dr Mirko Perovic, president of the SFRY Federal Court; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] It would be interesting to hear your views on the so-called verbal offenses. Let us say specifically: A man in a coffeeshop berates the authorities; perhaps he is drunk or perhaps he is not.

What will happen? Will he be charged with the criminal act of verbal offense under Article No 133 of the Criminal Code?

[Answer] Nonsense! The so-called verbal criminal acts and the needs, possibilities and opportunities for prosecuting and punishing these criminal acts have been much discussed among our public recently. Among other things, the motive for these discussions was also the petition by a group of citizens regarding an alleged need to amend the SFRY Criminal Code, that is, to amend Article No 133 of that code. First of all here is a specific answer to your question: We judges as well as all our people have this feeling: We know that a man who is angry about something or resents something is able to criticize and swear at it but already the next day is prepared to defend it with his own life. After all, criticizing and swearing are a part of our mentality and character. People are not taken to court for that and if they are, they are not sentenced. If they are sentenced, they are sentenced only for an offense. If sentences were passed for that, I--and not only I--would have been serving a hard-labor prison term long ago. Therefore that is not the question.

[Question] What then are "verbal criminal acts?"

[Answer] In our penal and legal system a "verbal offense" is a criminal act only when it is a "socially dangerous act that is defined by law as a criminal act and has legally defined characteristics." What does the specific Article No 133, in which you are interested, say? Under the heading "Hostile Propaganda," it says: "Whoever in written articles, leaflets, drawings, speech or in other ways calls for or urges the overthrow of the authority of the workers class and working people; unconstitutional changes of the socialist self-managing system; the destruction of the brotherhood and unity and equality of peoples and nationalities; the overthrow of the organs of social self-management and authority or their executive organs; and opposition against decisions of the competent organs of authority and self-management that are important for the protection and development of the socialist self-managing relations and the country's security and defense; or whoever maliciously and falsely presents the sociopolitical situation in the country will be punished with a prison term of 1 to 10 years."

The cited article of the criminal code obviously makes it clear that the legislator considers as a criminal act only that verbal propaganda act which is aimed at overthrowing the system, that is, at illegally changing the social order. This is the premise and the legislator is quite clear in this connection. It is quite clear that the legislator does not have in mind some naive "dissidents" or those drunk or sober citizens who are inclined, by their national psychology, to verbosity, exaggerations, swearing and so forth.

Thus the essence of that paragraph of the Criminal Code is "the intent to overthrow the regime," and only when such an intent is determined may the person concerned be charged under that article. All the rest may be offenses or street criticism, in which the courts are not interested. True, in my opinion--not because someone has criticized that article of the code but in order to ensure that the last part of the above-cited sentence will be completely and clearly interpreted only in connection with its first part, that is, in connection with the intent of overthrowing the regime--the future amendments to the Criminal Code should stipulate even more clearly to what the article refers. Saying this, I want to be quite clear: This clarification would help us to more clearly perceive various tendencies and people who, changing their tactics and taking advantage of the situation, continue to struggle in an organized manner against the existing social system and in this connection make use of certain ambiguities or possible lack of precision....

GENERAL SEES 'HOSTILE ACTIVITIES' IN CULTURE

AU020902 Belgrade BORRA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 81 p 12

["Excerpts" from a speech by Col Gen Dane Petkovski at the session of the committee of the League of Communists organization in the Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade on 25 March]

[Excerpts] ...The various contents and forms of culture and a comprehensive and rich cultural life in the army strongly contribute to the enhancement of the revolutionary and patriotic consciousness of army personnel, to the building of their Marxist view of the world, to a fuller and easier acquisition of knowledge and habits, to learning about and absorbing the cultural values of our peoples and nationalities and to the raising of the general cultural level of people, which ultimately also contributes to the strengthening of a conscious discipline and correct human relations.

It is important for all of us to know this, particularly now when in a complex international military-political situation accompanied by strong hostile propaganda we have antisocialist and hostile activities in our social conditions, too.

These activities are sometimes manifested in the widest cultural field, in some spheres of literature, music, films, art, theater practice and the like, and they try to shake the confidence in our social orientation. In this way damage is directly inflicted on the security of our society, for it may have and sometimes does have an undesirable influence on the feelings of our people.

It is correct that the regular personnel of our army, especially the officers, have an exceptional role in developing cultural life in every army community. They can and must play this role even more fully. Our officers now have very good prerequisites for their own variegated and rich cultural life: They have a solid standard of living, possess many appliances (cameras, movie cameras, musical instruments, radio and television sets), have personal libraries and so forth.

A rich personal and family cultural life makes it possible for them to develop such life in the units and institutions which they lead.

On the whole, they are doing it. However, it has been noticed in some cases that our officers are still too much consumers and not so much active creators and direct participants in cultural activities.

SERBIAN PREMIER CONCLUDES TALKS IN INDIA

AU271143 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 81 p 5

[M. Mistic report]

[Text] New Delhi, 24 Mar--Ivan Stambolic, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, today ended his 3-day official and friendly visit to India that was marked by a number of meetings with prominent Indian politicians and economists. The highlight of the visit, which was given publicity in the press here, was today's talks with President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, and with Minister of External Affairs Narasimha Rao, who played official host to the guest from Belgrade.

As one of a number of meetings and consultations between prominent personalities of the two countries, the visit was primarily used to promote economic cooperation between India and Yugoslavia, in which the share of the Socialist Republic of Serbia--when commodity exchange is involved--is 20 percent.

The essence of the talks with four ministers of the Indian Government and with representatives of business capital here was support for strengthening economic links for which, as the two sides noted, there are no political obstacles. On the contrary, encouragement to make efforts to bring the level of economic cooperation closer to the level of firm and lasting political relations of the two countries are particularly noticeable.

The participation of the Ivan Milutinovic enterprise in work on expanding the port of Bombay and on draining salt lakes near Calcutta was mentioned as a specific form of cooperation and trade. Interest was also expressed in the participation by our river shipyards in equipping the Indian river fleet, and an imminent solution of the remaining problems connected with the signing of an agreement on air traffic was indicated. The possibility of cooperation with the markets of third countries was also mentioned and the problem will be discussed in greater detail with representatives of the interested organizations.

Ivan Stambolic, together with members of the delegation, left New Delhi late tonight.

WORLD BANK GRANTS LOAN FOR SERBIAN DEVELOPMENT

AU270806 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1577 22 Mar 81 pp 19, 20

[Dragan Jovanovic article: "Underdeveloped: 'Morava' Will Bring Something"]

[Summary] Two weeks ago, the \$87-million loan by the World Bank for reconstruction and development intended for the development of underdeveloped southern Serbia was finally approved. The loan is better known as the Morava II project and has been discussed for the past 2-3 years.

The loan was approved under very favorable conditions, at a 9.6 percent interest rate and a 15-year repayment period. The private sector will receive nearly half of the loan, more precisely 34.5 percent, with a repayment period of 12 years. Nearly the entire loan of \$87 million will be invested in the agro-industrial complex, partially in the private sector and partially in the social. It is the largest loan granted by the World Bank to Yugoslavia for agriculture.

The loan will make up one-third of the funds necessary for the Morava II project. The other third of the funds will be provided by the Republican Fund for Underdeveloped Regions, the Investbank will provide 10 percent and other investors and local banks will provide 26 percent.

Djordje Mitic, president of the Assembly of the South Morava Intercommunal Regional Community, said that much was expected of the Morava II project, particularly in agricultural production, in more rapid development of the region and in employing over 30,000 workers who are now looking for jobs.

Earlier there was much talk about building an oil refinery, but now there is more talk about minifarms and fruit plantations. The South Morava and Toplica regions have 492,499 hectares of agricultural land, or 56.4 percent of the total area of the region. However, the land is not used economically: About 50 percent of the cultivated land is taken up by truck farms and arable land, while orchards and vineyards take up only 38,767 hectares, or 7.9 percent.

It is planned to plant 4,642 modern orchards on privately owned land in a total area of 3,650 hectares, to set up 2,364 private manifarms for hog and cattle raising and 1,100 hectares of modern vineyards on private land. The social sector plans to build a large hog farm and three irrigation systems; to plant vineyards; and to build fruit, vegetable, meat and grain processing plants, dairies and plants for drying medical herbs, forest berries and mushrooms.